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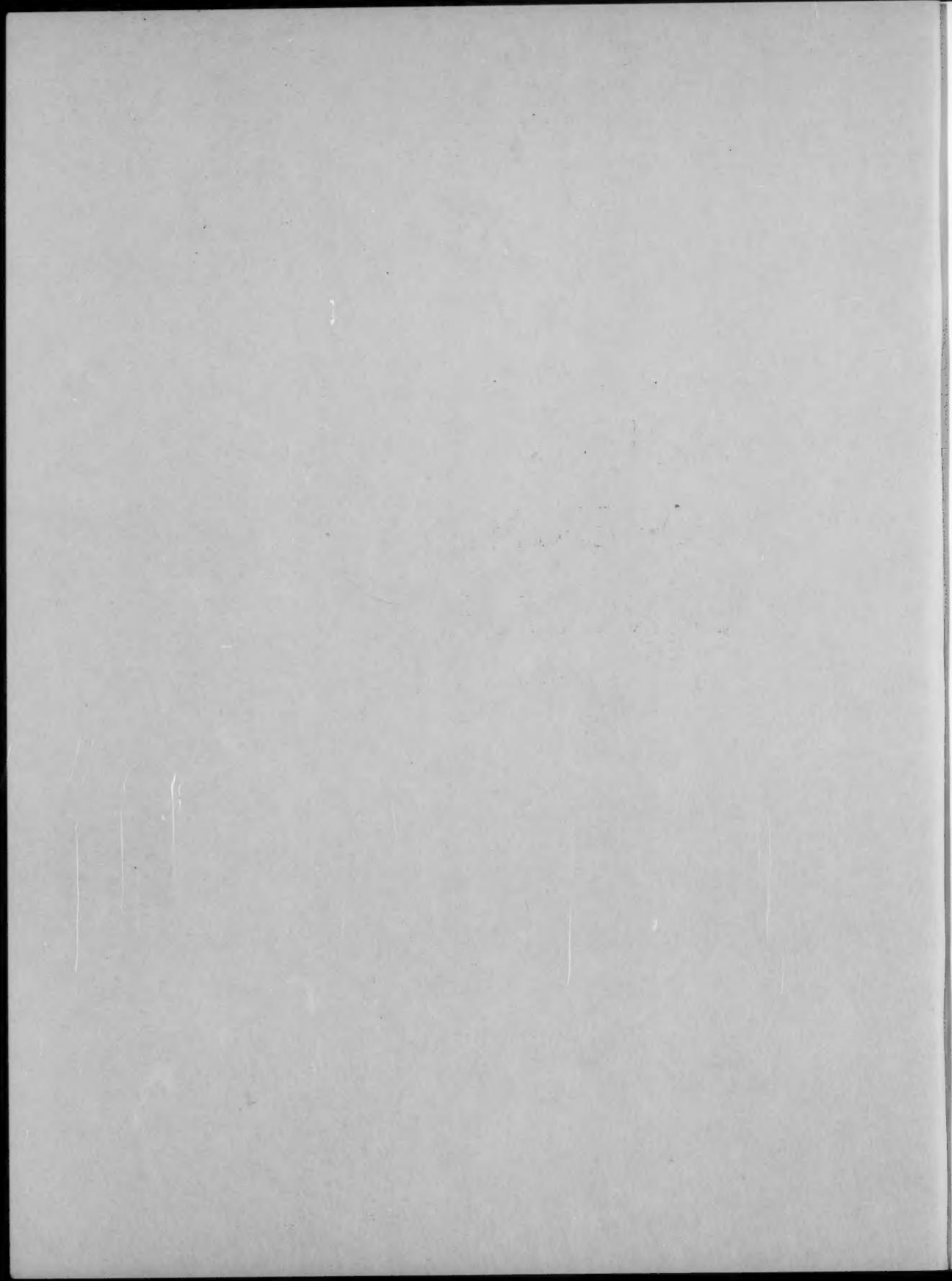
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HEINE AS PROPHET OF MODERN EUROPE

By John A. Hess, Ohio University

"We have surveyed the lands, weighed the forces of nature, calculated the means of industry, and behold! we have found out that this earth is large enough, that it offers each one sufficient room to build his cottage of happiness on it; that this earth can nourish us all decently, if we all work and one does not want to live at the expense of the other" (V, 328).¹ Thus in the year 1835 had Heinrich Heine written in his Romantische Schule. For the great German lyric poet and newspaperman, who felt that his best claim to fame was that he had been a brave soldier in the war for the liberation of humanity, was always profoundly interested in improving the lot of the common man. In this capacity he had been a constant student of German, French, and English traits of character.² In his close study of the social and political ambitions of these nations over a century ago he came to make some astonishingly accurate predictions regarding not only their own affairs but also the future of Russia. Indeed, in the Préface to the French version of his Lutèce (1855) Heine tells us that he was the first to call the extreme Socialists by the name Communists. This was, he said, their real name; nor was it a name or a movement that he could approve, though pressure on the poet-journalist was strong from the first that he should lend the luster of his own bright fame to the Communist cause. Instead of joining forces with Communism, Heine predicted with apprehension that, although they were isolated then in the various nations of Europe, the future would belong to the Communists. And this, he said, would mean the destruction of all that is dearest to the poet. He foresaw the time when grocers would tear pages from his own Buch der Lieder to wrap up coffee or snuff for the old women of coming generations.³

As early as May, 1831, Heine, who had become thoroughly disgruntled with reactionary conditions in Germany and who saw no prospect of professorial or political preferment for an intellectual Jew in his fatherland, emigrated to France and entered Paris, the Mecca of all German liberals since the 1830 July Revolution. At first this young poet, then thirty-four years of age, was enchanted by the life along the boulevards, the salons, museums, concerts, in short, by the whole social régime of the French capital.

The thing that impressed Heine most on his arrival in Paris was French politeness. In his Florentine Nights (1837) he exclaims:

What I liked best about the Parisians was their politeness and their aristocratic bearing. Sweet pineapple-aroma of politeness! How beneficently you refreshed my sick soul that in Germany

had swallowed so much tobacco smoke, sauer-kraut odors, and rudeness (Grobheit)!⁴

In his Confessions, written in 1854 about two years before his death, he makes a similar admission:

In the manners and even in the language of the French, there is so much precious flattery which costs so little and yet is so beneficial and refreshing. My soul, the poor sensitive plant which fear of the rudeness of my father-land had so contracted, again opened up to those flattering sounds of French urbanity.⁵

Heine, the German Jew insulted by nationalistically minded German students at the University of Göttingen, barred from a professorship on account of his race, and bulldozed by his millionaire uncle, appreciated this civility to the full in "the holy land of freedom." Even before he went to France, Heine regarded the French as more civilized than the Germans. In his well-known Harz-reise (1826) he observes that a few words of French immediately put us in a conventional mood. No sooner is he in Paris than he speaks of France as a garden of rare flowers of which Paris is the bouquet. France he calls the home of civilization and Paris the capital of the whole civilized world. In his subsequent writings he frequently contrasts the civilized tastes of the French with German uncouthness, unsociability, and moroseness. The following quotation is typical: "French ghosts...what a contradiction in words! In the word 'ghost' there is implied so much that is solitary, peevish, German, taciturn, and in the word 'French' is so much that is sociable, dainty, French, loquacious."⁶

The French language itself, being the expression and vehicle of French culture, seemed to Heine more "civilized" than German, and he calls attention to the difficulty of translating his Reisebilder (Pictures of Travel) into French. "Must one," he asks, "lop off here and there thoughts and images when they do not correspond to the civilized taste of the French and when they would seem to them a disagreeable or even ridiculous exaggeration?"⁷ Yet Heine, the poet, could not help feeling that French, being conventionalized and a product of society, lacked that genuine feeling (Innigkeit) and naïveté which characterize the more primitive Germanic languages.⁸ He regarded German as better suited to lyrical expression than French verse forced into a metrical "straight-jacket," and more than once he expressed dislike of that French "bed of Procrustes," the Alexandrine couplet.

Almost as soon as he reached Paris, Heine came to believe it his duty to write articles for the Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung, a liberal newspaper of South Germany, describing to his German readers the merits of French art,

society, and politics. For his French audience he wrote books which were translated into French, setting forth the religion, philosophy, and literature of Germany. Himself a strange blend of French politeness and German rudeness, he compared and contrasted sharply the Germans and the French on nearly every page of these works, yet sought earnestly to bring about a better understanding between the two nations. In his last will and testament issued in 1851, five years before his death, Heine states: "It was the great mission of my life to work for a cordial understanding between Germany and France and to frustrate the intrigues of the enemies of democracy who exploit international prejudices and animosities to their own advantage."⁹ Nineteen years earlier, in the preface to French Affairs, his first book about France, he had discussed the possibility of a League of Nations and disarmament, through a better understanding of the present by the masses, and had likewise declared his life dedicated to that cause.

In many respects the poet seems to have considered these two peoples antipodes. For instance, he contrasts French lightness or dexterity with German clumsiness, French cheerfulness with German seriousness, French politeness with German rudeness, French materialism with German idealism.

The journalist-poet admired especially the French ease, grace, assurance, clarity of vision, and matter-of-factness. These qualities he found to a superlative degree in the minister Adolphe Thiers. In a newspaper article dated May 20, 1840, Heine writes: "The ease with which he moves is even now somewhat uncanny. But extraordinary and admirable this ease is, nevertheless; and however graceful and versatile the other Frenchmen are, in comparison with Thiers, they appear like clumsy, awkward Germans."¹⁰ Three years later, in the Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung, Heine again calls attention to French adroitness:

What I marvel at most is the dexterity of these French, the adroit passing, or rather jumping from one occupation to another that is wholly heterogeneous. This is not merely a property of an agile disposition, but also an historical acquisition: in the course of time they have rid themselves of hindering prejudices.¹¹

He then tells of an émigré French marquis who became in turn a master-shoemaker and a master-tailor and, after the Restoration, returned to France as proud as ever.¹²

Joined to this dexterity and perhaps causing it are French clarity of vision and matter-of-factness arising from an almost complete lack of metaphysical brooding. The French never dream, Heine says repeatedly, and therefore they perform their daily business with an assurance undisturbed by vague thoughts either in art or in life¹³; whereas "the dreaming German makes a wry face at

you some morning because he has dreamed that you have insulted him, or that his grandfather received a kick from yours."¹⁴

But Heine's praise of the civilization of the French is not unadulterated. He was too much of a German not to feel a certain danger in the dexterity and adaptability of the French, in their skill in handling problems of human relations. French Leichtigkeit often becomes Leichtsinn. And the author of the Buch der Lieder was to miss in French civilization as well as in French poetry the depth of feeling or Gemüt (a word he held to be untranslatable) which he believed a unique German trait. According to Heine, the reason for the absence of this trait in France was the emigration to Germany of French idealistic philosophy in the eighteenth century. From this premise he argues in his Letters Concerning the French Stage: "Therefore naïveté, Gemüt, knowledge through intuition, and absorption in the perceived object, are denied their poets. They have only reflection, passion and sentimentality."¹⁵ This sentimentality, to Heine, is the product of the materialism that took the place of idealistic philosophy in France. In one passage he defines sentimentality as "the despair of materialism."¹⁶

Violent and exaggerated as his views of European nationals often were, his appraisals of the English approximate earlier as well as more recent type-judgments of this people. The initial impression made on him by London was most unfavorable. "Send no poet to London," he exclaimed in his Englische Fragmente (1828). "This absolute earnestness in all things, this colossal monotony, this machine-like activity, this sullenness of joy itself, this exaggerated London, crushes the imagination and rends the heart."¹⁷ In 1832 he was writing of those "strange birds, the English" that they are born enemies of all good music. Shakespeare, the one exception to British philistinism, became "a spiritual sun for that land which is deprived of the real sun during almost twelve months of the year."¹⁸

In a newspaper article of 1840 he again denies the English all musical and artistic sense: "They have no imagination; that is the whole secret. Their poets are only shining exceptions; thus they come into opposition with their people, the short-nosed, low-browed, occiputless people, the chosen people of prose."¹⁹ Nevertheless, along with critics of British culture far friendlier than Heine to John Bull's tight little island, Heine did recognize another England. It was, of course, the England of Shakespeare as well as of those who had made unprecedented progress in the attainment of political freedom. Besides British love of freedom, he commends the English also for the wholesomeness of their family life, their exuberant health, and he has considerable respect for the vigorous public life of the British Parliament and for parliamentary leaders like Lord Brougham and George Canning.

His Englische Fragmente (1828), written shortly after his journey to England, begins with these impassioned words: "Greetings to thee, Land of free-

dom! Be greeted, Freedom, young sun of the rejuvenated world!" Heine asserts, however, that English liberty is domestic, restricted: "The English are a domestic people... The Englishman is therefore satisfied with that freedom which guarantees his most personal rights and protects unconditionally his body, his property, his marriage, his faith, even his whims." Then follow his famous similes regarding the English, French, and German concepts of freedom. "The Englishman loves freedom like his lawful wife... though he does not treat her with particular tenderness, still if need be he knows how to defend her like a man," contrasting in this respect with the Frenchman who "loves freedom like his betrothed. He glows for her, he is on fire, he throws himself at her feet with the most exaggerated protestations." The German, however, who is a speculative thinker living only in the past or the future, "loves freedom like his old grandmother." Nevertheless, the German will never quite show the door to his old grandmother, while the fickle Frenchman may become untrue to his dear fiancée, and "the splenetic Briton, surfeited with his wife, will perhaps put a rope around her neck and lead her to Smithfield for sale."²⁰

In this same work Heine cautions us, however, that the spirit of aristocracy is still firmly entrenched in England: "Caste-rule and the guild system have maintained themselves to the present day, and... England remains in a mediaeval condition or rather, in the condition of a fashionable Middle Ages."²¹

Heine is forced to acknowledge somewhat grudgingly the physical and moral health of the English. He tells of British tourists with their "ruddy, beefsteak-fattened faces," and in his treatise, Concerning the French Stage (1837), he agrees that English domestic life, like the German, is more wholesome than the French. After complaining that the love affairs of the French woman as shown both on the stage and in the salons of fashion are confined to the period after marriage, Heine piously exclaims: "But we Germans, like our Teutonic neighbors (the English), always pay homage with our love only to unmarried girls, and only these are celebrated in song by our poets."²²

In the field of letters Heine's praise of Shakespeare is unstinted. In Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen (1838) he shows fine appreciation of that poet's ability to portray women characters and the conditions of his age. Likewise, in the introduction he wrote for a German edition of Don Quixote (1837) he proclaims Shakespeare's dramatic supremacy: "Cervantes, Shakespeare, and Goethe form the poets' triumvirate, who in the three genres of poetic representation, the epic, the dramatic, and the lyric, have produced the highest."²³ The English novelists since Richardson's dominance he calls prosaic natures, and the only one who meets with his approval is Sir Walter Scott, whose novels he says "give the spirit of English history far more faithfully than does Hume."²⁴

The lively, witty debates of the British Parliament delighted Heine, and he was often an interested listener while he was in London. Here the Englishman appeared without his usual limitations. "Jest, persiflage of self, sarcasm,

emotion and wisdom, malice and kindness, logic and verses bubble forth in the richest of color, so that the annals of Parliament afford us even years later the most clever entertainment," writes Heine.²⁵ He speaks with appreciation of the brilliant oratorical skill of Lord Brougham; but the Englishman who made the most profound impression on Heine during his brief stay on the Island was George Canning, whose leadership, sincerity, and liberalism Heine praises unreservedly. He calls him "the greatest minister that ever ruled England... a Spartacus of Downing Street who proclaimed civil and religious liberty for all peoples and won for England all liberal hearts and thereby supreme power in Europe."²⁶

In politics Heinrich Heine had strong Socialist leanings. His early enthusiasm for Saint-Simonism is well known. In his dying years, and almost in spite of himself, two voices rose up in his breast in favor of Communism:

The first of these voices is that of logic... A terrible syllogism holds me bewitched, and if I am not able to refute this premise, "that all men have the right to eat," I am forced to submit to all its consequences... The second of the two voices that bewitch me is more powerful and more infernal than the first, for it is that of hate, of the hate that I vow to a party of which Communism is the most terrible antagonist, and which is for that reason our common enemy. I speak of the party of the so-called nationalists in Germany, those false patriots whose love for their fatherland consists only in an idiotic aversion to the stranger and the neighboring peoples, and who daily discharge their bile, notably against France.

Then, after excoriating the hypocritical descendants of the Teutomanes of 1815, the moribund poet continues:

At least they [the Communists] are not hypocrites having always on their lips religion and Christianity; the Communists, it is true, have no religion (no man is perfect), the Communists are even atheists (which is assuredly a great sin), but as their principal dogma they profess the most absolute cosmopolitanism, a universal love for all peoples, an egalitarian confraternity among men, free citizens of the globe.²⁷

As early as 1842 (which was the year before his first meeting with Karl Marx), on account of bad social and political conditions, Heine feared a coming world-war which would be prefaced by a most horrible war of destruction--a war that "unfortunately would call into the arena for their mutual ruination the two noblest peoples of civilization: Germany and France." With Great Britain and Russia it would be different:

England, the great sea-serpent, which can always crawl back into its tremendous watery nest, and Russia, which in its tremendous pine forests, steppes, and ice-covered fields likewise has the most secure hiding places, these two in an ordinary political war can not be ruined completely even by the most decisive defeats--but Germany in such cases is threatened far worse, and France could even forfeit its very political existence in the most deplorable manner.... The second act is the European revolution, the world-revolution, the great duel of the have-nots (Besitzlosen) with the aristocracy of possession, and then it will not be a question of nationality nor of religion: there will be only one fatherland, namely, the globe; and one faith, namely, happiness on earth.²⁸

This sounds like a prediction of our two world wars and resulting secularism. (Of course, Heine did not foresee the jet-bomber, the guided missile, and the submarine which made England much less impregnable.) He did not think the picture a pleasant one, and he concludes: "The future smells of Russian leather, of blood, of godlessness, and of very many blows. I advise our grandchildren to come into the world with thick skins."²⁹

Although Heine was never in Russia, he constantly feared her potentialities. After the fall of Warsaw in 1831, he wrote in a pretended jocular mood: "I and all of us are so afraid of the Russian wolf, and I fear we German Red Riding Hoods will soon feel grandmother's absurdly long hands and big mouth."³⁰ Nine years later he calls Russia "that terrible giant that at present is still sleeping and growing in its sleep, stretching out its feet into the fragrant flower-gardens of the Orient, knocking its head against the North Pole and dreaming of world-dominion."³¹ He welcomes the Russians' involvement with the Mohammedans in Turkey in 1841 and claims it would be a piece of good fortune for the Germans "if Constantinople should now become the arena of their [the Russians'] religious zeal. This would be the best bulwark against that Muscovite appetite which secretly aims at nothing less on the shores of the Bosphorus than winning, by combat or by stealth, world-dominion."³² Of course, in those days Russia was an absolute monarchy under Czar Nicholas I and not yet the director of World Communism.

These are but a few of Heine's utterances on European events. Up to his death he was interested in the passing scene, although he became more bitter and pessimistic after he became bedridden in 1848. While no longer as hopeful as he had been in 1832 of the speedy coming of the "League of Nations, the Holy Alliance of Nations" where the swords would be turned into plow-shares and the cavalrymen's horses used to pull them,³³ he still held that an alliance between France and Germany would be the best solution to the European problem. He said:

That upright and generous France, generous even to the point of boasting, is our natural and truly safest ally was the conviction of my whole life; and my patriotic need of enlightening my blinded compatriots about the faithless imbecility of the Franzosenfresser (devourers of Frenchmen) and of the Rhenish bards sometimes gave to my reports concerning the ministry of Thiers, especially in reference to the English, an all too passionate coloring.³⁴

Heine's attitude toward France agrees essentially with that of Konrad Adenauer, who recently declared: "Understanding between France and Germany is a foundation, the necessary prerequisite of any European integration."³⁵ Adenauer's goal, too, is the peace of Europe and of the world precisely as Heine's had been. Only after an alliance with France is effected can the Chancellor hope to achieve his aim, which he describes in these words:

As a German, as a European, and as a Christian, my most fervent desire and the supreme goal of all my work is the creation of a European community of free and equal nations for the defense of freedom and peace in Europe and the world.³⁶

The final settlement of the thorny Saar problem and the very successful working out of the Schumann plan for cooperation into the European Coal and Steel Community, to which was added on January 1, 1959, the European Common Market with externally convertible currencies, would have delighted Heinrich Heine, as they have Adenauer and De Gaulle, and all men of good will, as notable instances of the long hoped-for French and German unity.

NOTES

1. The references are to the first edition of Ernst Elster's Heinrich Heine's Sämtliche Werke. 7 vols. (Leipzig und Wien: Bibliographisches Institut, 1887-1890). Reprint with revisions (1893). The edition of 1893 is used in this study. The translations of quoted passages are my own.
2. See my Heine's Views on German Traits of Character (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1929), 155 pp.
3. VI, 572.
4. IV, 362.
5. VI, 35.
6. V, 323-324.
7. III, 506-507.
8. IV, 531.
9. VII, 520.
10. VI, 172.
11. VI, 339.
12. VI, 340.
13. IV, 511.
14. VII, 439.
15. IV, 512.
16. IV, 512.
17. III, 438.
18. V, 374-375.
19. VI, 205-206.
20. III, 433-437.
21. III, 496-497.
22. IV, 507.
23. VII, 316.
24. III, 228.
25. III, 486-487.
26. V, 67-68.
27. VI, 572-573.
28. VI, 316.
29. VI, 317.
30. VII, 292.
31. VII, 85.
32. VI, 246.
33. V, 12.
34. VI, 135.
35. Quoted in Konrad Adenauer's World Indivisible (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), p. xxviii.
36. Ibid., p. xxx.

"ALMUIUCES" IN ALFONSO X'S PRIMERA CRONICA GENERAL

By T. B. Irving, University of Texas

The fourteenth chapter of the Primera crónica general concerns an invasion of Spain by some North European people called the Almuiuces. The word is apparently of Arabic origin, but it refers to an attack from the sea upon the Iberian peninsula before the arrival of the Greeks.

Let us commence this study by examining the Primera crónica more closely. This is an extensive work which Alfonso X, "The Scholar," ordered composed in the latter part of the thirteenth century; each chapter usually covers no more than a column or two in the present text.¹ The first fifteen chapters recount Iberian history from peninsular origins up to the Punic wars, in a medley of Biblical history, Greek mythology and curious explanations of geography: Britanny stems from the name Brutus; three Hercules come into the picture; Julius Caesar founds Seville; while in Chapter 7, the third Hercules kills King Gerion and changes the peninsula's name from *Esperia* to *Espanna*. Chapters 11, 12, and 13 talk mainly of two men, Tharcus and Rocas, who are usually in the company of a speaking dragon! Then the next chapter offers us the Almuiuces invasion, and leaves us wondering whether we are dealing with still more legend or with a glimmer of history.

This attempt to narrate Iberian prehistory is by its nature arduous and rather arrogant, for thirteenth century Spanish historians did not possess sufficient archaeological or anthropological background to write about their country's early civilizations in such an affirmative vein. Only with Chapter 18 do we begin to tread upon truly historical ground with the Punic wars and the rise of Rome, whose historians were known in thirteenth century Castile.

With this summary, we can concentrate on Chapter 14. This opens with the invasion of northwestern Spain by some northern peoples. We are told that these Almuiuces originally came from Chaldea, where King Nebuchadnezzar and King Xerxes forced them to flee because these rulers considered their fire worship both insane and sacrilegious; thus there is some explanation offered for their connection with the eastern Magi of ancient Persia.² The tribe then proceeded towards the "cold islands" of Norway, Denmark, and Prussia, where they prospered, built ships, and set out to conquer the British Isles. The Crónica is very specific in mentioning England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, almost like a contemporary Celtic nationalist. From there they sailed for Spain, which they entered via Bayonne. Covering their vessels with green branches, the Almuiuces attacked the native Iberians without warning, and thus took Coruña, Lisbon and Cádiz.³ They destroyed some inhabitants and were accepted as rulers by the rest.

Then they settled down (although their rule lasted for only forty years) and constructed temples for their fire worship in the newly founded towns of Pamplona, Sigüenza, Córdoba, and Toledo. It was part of their religion to baptize their children by passing them over a clear flame produced by burning dry wood, making the sign of the cross as they did so, and to place tired old folk on a funeral pyre so they were sent directly to heaven.

Chapter 15 then tells how Almuices rule was ended by a fresh invasion from England and Flanders. The title of this chapter informs us clearly "De cuemo los de Flandes e d'Inglaterra destruyeron a Espanna." These new warriors had learned of their kinsfolk's exploits and sailed to duplicate them; they seem to have belonged to another shadowy race which we might conjecture to be either the Belgae or the Picts, most probably the former. They entered Spain from four directions and "mataron quantos fallaron y de los almuices; e los de Espanna, que morauan y antes, fincaron cuemo por siervos." These lines explain clearly that the new invaders could not have been Almuices. There is no subsequent mention of this tribe, however, since Chapter 16 turns to the rise of Carthage and the entrance of the Phoenicians under Hamilcar around 270 B.C. Nevertheless, one feature in Chapter 15 merits mention: the seizure of "Ythalica" (the Roman name for the chief city in the region of Seville); in this respect the invasion resembles that of the Vikings in 844, which we shall mention in our analysis of the Arab documents. Here, too, the townsfolk sallied forth and fought the invaders but were defeated as they were by the Majūs later on.

Chronologically then, we can place the appearance of the Almuices between Chapters 13 and 16 of the Primera crónica general. The former chapter has just told us how Pyrrhus fortified the Pyrenees, which were named after him, and it ends with the Greek invasion of Mediterranean Spain. On the strength of Chapters 15 and 16, we can thus presume that the landing of the Almuices occurred before 600, and with this date in mind we turn to European migrations of this period.

At the end of the Bronze Age, a vast incursion of Celtic tribes had poured over northern Europe. These groups had supposedly separated from their Indo-European trunk during the second millennium B.C. They followed Indo-European practices, such as burning their dead and building them burial sites. Their first expansion is believed to have taken place between 900 and 600 B.C., when their skilful use of bronze and iron weapons gave them a marked superiority in battle. They are presumed to have migrated at that time from Central Europe to Belgium, France, and the British Isles, and from southern France into Spain. An initial Celtic wave had struck the peninsula via the Pyrenean passes from 900 to 800 B.C.; other waves came to Central Spain, Galicia, and Portugal between 700 and 600. Some of the invaders settled down in the eastern part of the Castilian tableland, where they

blended with the native Iberian stock and later were known as the "Celtiberians."⁴

Celtic religion, which we know as druidism, was a type of nature worship, especially worship of such plants as the oak and the mistletoe. The Celts built funeral pyres for their dead, and often relatives and slaves accompanied an important leader on his last journey. Under the heading "Celts" in the Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, J. A. MacCulloch tells us of some festivals which were focused on a great bonfire representing the sun, around which people danced.⁵ This has persisted in our St. John's Day or Midsummer Eve, and it reappears in the third chapter of The Return of the Native by Thomas Hardy, though in November when the harvest was over. Flames from this bonfire were taken to each home. Our own customs of the Yule log and Christmas candles, as well as St. Lucy's Day in Sweden, are based on the celebration of the return of longer days after the winter solstice, although these features are more Scandinavian than Celtic (the Celts were closer to the Latin than to Germanic stock, though they were not racially pure) and would apply therefore to the Normans we shall study later. Even in Persia, Norūz or the New Year's celebration, which falls at the time of the spring equinox late in March, features to this day a bonfire around which the young folk dance.

Nevertheless, we have not explained the invasion from the sea mentioned in the Crónica. We do not know that the Celts were sea-farers, although they did manage to invade the British Isles and thus had crossed the English Channel, probably in the coracles seen by Julius Caesar.⁶ Is this part of the chapter therefore a folk memory, or is it history? How far can it be linked with the subsequent Norman invasion of Arab and Christian Spain during the ninth and tenth centuries?

With these queries, let us turn to Arab sources and see what they know of an invasion of Spain by northerners. Their chronicles record several incursions, but by Normans and during the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era. The Arabs confused the Viking religion with the fire worship they had observed among the Persians in the East, since the first northerners they met were still not Christians and their religion seemed related to that of the Indo-European cult they had known in Persia. Thus they applied the term Majūs to them, a word we know better in its Latin form of Magi.

Arab historians, notably the tenth century native Spaniard Ibn-al-Quṭiyya in his History of the Conquest of Spain,⁷ mention Viking assaults which began in the middle of the ninth century during the reign of 'Abdurrahmān II, who reigned from 822 to 852. The fourteen or fifteen century gap is so disparate that at first glance it seems difficult to reconcile these two stories. According to anthropological findings, the Celts were the only possible invaders of Spain during the period established by Alfonso's Crónica. How then did the term Almuíuces with its possible link to the Arabic Majūs enter the Castilian chronicle?

The most plausible answer would be that the Alfonsine historians borrowed the Arabic term Majūs, which they seem to know meant "fire worshippers," and applied this name to the Indo-Europeans, whose last Celtic wave, the Belgae, arrived around 600 B.C. Little was known about their origins in the European middle ages, and whoever used this term did not know Arabic very well, for he took the word along with its definite article (as was common in early Spanish borrowings) and then added an unnecessary plural, for the Arabic term is properly a collective noun in itself. The Alfonsine chronicler thus is confusing two invasions by people of Indo-European stock having a trend towards nature worship, one Celtic and the other Scandinavian.

The Arab conquest of Spain in the early eighth century had been chiefly a land operation, since the short crossing of the Straits of Gibraltar had caused the invaders no difficulty. For over a century, their only challenge from the sea had been the 'Abbāsid threat via North Africa concurrent with Charlemagne's ill-fated campaign at Roncesvalles.⁸ Thus their chief naval bases lay on the Mediterranean coast, so that when a fresh maritime foe came upon them from the Atlantic, the Spanish Arabs were unprepared.

Such an attack appeared in the late summer of 844, in a campaign which lasted more than three months, over a millennium and a half after the Celtic waves we have mentioned, and four hundred years before Alfonso compiled his great chronicle. This event is described by Ibn-al-Athīr, Ibn-'Idhārī and Ibn-al-Qutayya; their accounts differ somewhat on minor points as they try to follow the shifting land operations, but it is possible to reconstruct the main outlines of this campaign without going into every detail.

The Vikings had just been raiding the west coast of France, and had set up a base at the mouth of the Loire.⁹ They raided the Garonne almost up to Toulouse, and in northern Spain they struck at Gijón and Coruña with a hundred and fifty ships, but the Asturians drove them off. From this setback they came on to Arab Spain, sailing past Lisbon towards the Guadalquivir, where they plundered and burned Seville very much as this disaster is described in Chapter 15 of the Crónica. Ibn-al-Athīr¹⁰ correctly reports that they had come "from the furthest part of Spain into the land of the Muslims"; but where they had originally come from and who they were, the Arabs did not know.

When these Vikings were first sighted off Lisbon, the governor of that port sent a report to 'Abdurrahmān II, which prompted a despatch to all of the coastal governors to take precautions.¹¹ The governors do not seem to have had any ships at their disposal, for they were unable to prevent the Majūs from landing. At Lisbon (where the Alfonsine Almuiuces also are reported to have fought in the same fashion), they carried on land battles with the Muslims for thirteen days.¹² Then they proceeded down the coast, raiding Cádiz and nearby Medina Sidonia, and even sending a few vessels against the African

coast. They sailed up the Guadalquivir, defeated the Muslim armies sent there against them, captured Seville, and wreaked much havoc before the Andalusians mustered sufficient forces to rout them. They did not venture upstream beyond Seville, for they found this to be dangerous.

The Spanish army and cabinet met in Carmona, not far east of Seville, to seek counsel. At first the Arabs were unprepared for an invasion from the Atlantic because their sea troubles had been hitherto along the Mediterranean coast; however, given a chance to organize, they managed to handle the situation, although the sack of Seville must have been a serious blow to their prestige and economy. With their armed forces reorganized, they struck out and killed whatever Vikings they could lay their hands on, and retook the southern metropolis. The Visigothic Muslim leader of Zaragoza, *Mūsa bin-Qasī*, is reported to have brought his forces to help *'Abdurrahmān*.¹³

After *'Abdurrahmān* II had routed the Normans in the battle of Tablada,¹⁴ which lies two miles south of Seville on the river plain, the surviving raiders collected their forces and sailed down the river, ransoming some of their prisoners at the price of livestock and foodstuffs.¹⁵ They pulled out via Niebla and Lisbon, raiding the coast and fighting the Muslim troops until they lost some ships; *Ibn-'Idhārī*¹⁶ reports thirty vessels, and *Ibn-al-Athīr*¹⁷ records four, though he may be referring to some other occasion. Some Normans were left behind, settling down as cattle drovers and becoming Muslims; they were known later for the excellent cheese they made.

Ibn-al-Quṭiyya also takes the Vikings into the Mediterranean, but his account of a raid on Nakūr on the bay of Alhucemas to the east of Ceuta is probably transferred from the 858 expedition we shall take up later. His statement that "they reached the land of Byzantium and Alexandria in that expedition, which lasted fourteen years" may be fabulous or a memory from the later attacks on Constantinople via Russia and the Black Sea. However, they did hold the island Cristina at the mouth of the Guadiana for some time.

We find reference to this invasion in the *Primera crónica general*, but with curious details. Chapter 632 of the *Crónica* is entitled: "De como corrieron a Sevilla unas yentes estranñas et se fuera end por miedo de Abderrahman rey de Cordoua." In this chapter we have an excellent account of the sack of Seville with the slaughter of its inhabitants and the subsequent battle of Tablada; nonetheless, the Alfonsine chronicler cannot identify these invaders. Is it possible that the thirteenth century historians did not realize that these warriors were Normans? This chapter fixes the battle of Tablada in the third year of the reign of King Ramiro I, who ruled Asturias from 842 to 850.

These events stimulated a new policy in *Córdoba* which led to a revival

of the fleet of 'Abdurrahmān I; the second Umayyad of that name ordered the construction of a naval base on the Guadalquivir and erected forts to the south of Seville. He enlisted seamen from the Andalusian coast and provided them with equipment including naphtha or Greek fire, which was useful later.¹⁸ We shall see how well this Atlantic fleet served the Andalusians. Furthermore, 'Abdurrahmān II sent the poet Yāḥyā bin-al-Ḥakam al-Ghazāl on an embassy to improve relations with the king of the Norsemen. This envoy's journey is described at length by 'Umar bin-Hasan bin-Dihya in his Al-Mutrib min Ash'ār Ahl al-Andalus.¹⁹ Ghazāl's embassy led him from Silves in southern Portugal to a large island or peninsula (jazīra can mean either in Arabic) which lay in the Atlantic, three days' sailing distance from France. He was away for twenty months, and, despite his advanced years, found favor with the Norse queen. Ghazāl was fitting for such a mission because of his attractive personality and previous experience in the East.²⁰ He reported that the Northmen he met were Christians, which might contribute to the fact that the Primera crónica missed the pagan angle.

The above measures proved justified when the Vikings raided Spain on several occasions, beginning in 858 under 'Abdurrahmān's successor Muhammad I (852-886). This time they burned the chief mosque in Algeciras on the Straits of Gibraltar, and sailed up the east coast of Spain to Orihuela in Tadmīr or Murcia.²¹ They retook Seville and again penetrated the Río Tinto as far as Niebla; once more they were expelled, their ships being fired by Muhammad I's forces. During their retreat, some of their ships were driven ashore on the African coast at the same place they had raided during the previous campaign, and here a ribāt or fortress was built which formed the nucleus for the later port of Aṣila or Arcila. In 869 they sailed from the Seine on another expedition to Galicia. Next year they attacked Navarre, occupying Pamplona, at some distance inland, and a city mentioned during the Almuíuces or Celtic invasion. This invasion was via the Ebro rather than over the mountains; during this raid they took the Basque king, García Iñiguez, prisoner, ransoming him later. They returned in 862 as well.

Now the Alfonsine chronicler also records this invasion, and for the first time he identifies the invaders as Normans; this occurs in Chapter 641. It brings them as far as Algeciras in "lx naves"; also to "Nacoze" in Africa, and to the Balearics (and to Greece, if we can credit this also). This occurred in the time of King Ordoño, who died in the year 866, and so it fits in with the Arab chronicles.

A last Nordic assault on Spain is recorded in the year 966, during the reign of Caliph Ḥakam II (961-976), although the Primera crónica in Chapter 726 states this occurred the year his father, the great 'Abdurrahmān III, died, which would fix it five years earlier and under Ramiro of León. This chapter is headed "de como una yente de los normanos ueno a Espanna et robaron Galizia, et de la muerte de Abderrahman rey de Cordoua." The Castilian

chronicler knows his Arabic better now, for he tells how Hakam assumed the throne name of almuztancirbille (al-Mustansir bi-Llāh), which he translates quite adequately as "omne que se deffende con Dios." The French orientalist Lévi-Provençal labels this as "une tentative de débarquement des Madjus; cette fois c'étaient des Danois païens que le duc de Normandie, Richard Ier, avait dirigés vers l'Espagne à fin de débarrasser ses territoires de leur encombrante présence."²² This Majūs fleet was decimated near Silves, the same port as Ghazāl had sailed from. In Galicia, they killed archbishop Sisnando of Santiago de Compostela. They sailed under their own king "Gunderedo."

From these accounts, Viking strategy and Muslim reaction are equally clear. The Northmen's strength lay in surprise, and their only purpose was to enrich themselves through plunder and prisoners. Their chief problem lay in finding a food supply, as can be seen by their insistence upon ransom in the form of provisions (mitā'), while their chief asset lay in their command of the sea. On land their forces were easily matched by a good Arab army, and their recklessness sometimes led to severe losses. We note how easily they penetrated Britain and France, even to setting up their own states in those countries, while the Spanish Arabs sent them packing.²³

This brings to an end our second exploration of the term Majūs or Almujūces and the invasions connected with these people, although two questions remain. How would the thirteenth century Castilian historians miss the name Majūs in the accounts of the 844 invasion which they may have encountered in the Arab chronicles? What makes them credit the Celts with an invasion from the sea?

My hypothesis is that the research workers in Alfonso's court who were working on the pre-Christian era did not know Arabic very well, as we see in their pluralizing of the name; those who worked on the later chapters did know what Hakam's throne name meant, but they did not apply the term Majūs since they did not feel that Normans were non-Christians. Although the invaders under Hakam II were still pagan Danes, nonetheless a century earlier Ghazāl reported that Christianity was spreading among them. Thus the Castilian historians pushed the clock back on the pagan invaders to an era when they knew they could not possibly be Christians, and in so doing they incorporated some elements from folklore and some from Arab history.

Chapter 14 of the Crónica doubtless refers to the pre-Christian era, for it mentions the founding of towns, the building of temples for fire worship, and a Greek invasion. Alfonso's writers apparently knew through folklore or legend of an invasion of fire worshipers from the northern islands during the previous millennium, but they seem not to have known the tribe's name. Thus they took the term Majūs, which applied to such worship, from Arab sources on which they relied partially for their chronicle, but it was a term which the

Arabs had applied rather to the Norman invaders of Spain.²⁴

To conclude, the evidence seems to indicate that the supposed maritime invasion of Spain during the middle of the pre-Christian millennium was of Celtic origin, while the true Majūs of the Spanish Arab histories were the Normans who attacked Spain fourteen or fifteen centuries later. We note that the Norse invasions during the ninth and tenth centuries of our era came roughly via the same routes and thus they might be confused further with Celtic settlements at Pamplona, Coruña, and Lisbon, though we must remember that Cádiz was Phoenician. Pamplona especially figured in both Celtic and Norse invasions. Nevertheless, we are not dealing with clearcut history: it is confusing, as if we were searching through some folk memory which prevailed for the four hundred years between the date of the first Norman invasion of Spain and the compilation of the Alfonsine chronicle.

NOTES

1. Alfonso el Sabio, Primera crónica general, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1906).
2. Rafael Altamira y Crevea, Historia de España y de la civilización española, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1909), I, 61, in which he says that the Iberians themselves may have come from Chaldea and Assyria, and connects them with the Sumerians, although he states they arrived via Africa. There seems to be a persistent desire on the part of Spanish historians to connect the primitive Iberians with some Eastern but not Saracen people. Altamira (I, 240-1) also speaks of the "madjus," but the spelling shows he has taken his information from French rather than Arab sources, probably Dozy's Recherches, 3rd. ed. (Paris, 1881), II, 250-271.
3. We should remember that Cádiz was the principal Phoenician settlement in Spain.
4. Pedro Bosch Gimpera, "Elementos de formación de Europa: los celtas," in Revue de l'Institut Français de l'Amérique Latine (México, D. F., 30 septiembre 1945), pp. 36-61; "El mundo español," Revista del Museo Nacional (Guatemala, 1946), III, iv, 138-165; "Les mouvements celtiques," Etudes Celtiques (1951), IV, 352-400; (1952), V, 71-126; (1953-54), VI, 328-355; (1955), VI, 147-183; "Ibères, Basques, Celtes," Orbis (Louvain, 1956-57), V, ii, 329-338; VI, i, 126-134; "Two Celtic Waves in Spain," Proceedings of the British Academy (1939), XXVI, 1-126.
5. III, 299. See also Henri Hubert, Greatness and Decline of the Celts (London: Kegan Paul, 1934), pp. 226 ff. on their religion, and specifically p. 241 concerning the feast of fire on May 1st.
6. G. J. Marcus, "Factors in Early Celtic Navigation," Etudes Celtiques (1955), VI, 312-327.

7. Abū-Bakr Muḥammad bin-'Umar Ibn-al-Quṭiyya, Ta'rīkh Iftitāh al-Andalus, ed. Julián Ribera (Madrid, 1926), pp. 62-67.
8. See my Falcon of Spain (Lahore: Orientalia, 1954), chapters 16 and 17, and especially pp. 78-79.
9. Thomas D. Kendrick, A History of the Vikings (New York-London, 1930), pp. 193 ff.
10. 'Alī bin-Muhammad bin-al-Athīr, Al-Kāmil fi at-Ta'rīkh, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leyden, 1887-94), VII, 11.
11. Ibn-'Idhārī al-Marrākushi, Kitāb al-Bayān al-Maghrib fi Akhbār al-Andalus wa-al-Gharb, ed. R. Dozy, rev. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, 2 vols. (Leyden: Brill, 1948), II, 87.
12. Ibn-al-Athīr, loc. cit.
13. Ibn-'Idhārī, loc. cit.
14. Talyāṭa in Arabic, possibly through incorrect pointing in the text.
15. Ibn-al-Quṭiyya, p. 65. See Evariste Lévi-Provençal, Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane, 2 vols. (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve, 1953), I, 218-225: "Les Descentes Normandes de 844 en Espagne Musulmane." In I, 221, there is a good map of this campaign.
16. P. 90.
17. Loc. cit.
18. Ibn-al-Quṭiyya, p. 67.
19. Cairo, Ministry of Education (1953), pp. 132-151.
20. E. g., the entrance to the throne room was built so low that any ambassador would have to bow towards the king as he entered, but Ghazāl slid in to avoid this homage. A like incident is reported with the governor 'Abd-al-'Azīz bin-Mūsā shortly after the conquest as he entered his wife Egilona's chapel. See my Falcon of Spain, p. 21.
21. Ibn-'Idhārī, II, 96-7, reports they had 62 ships and took gold and silver then.
22. Lévi-Provençal, II, 169.
23. See Oscar G. Darlington's review of Beraud-Villars' Les Normands en Méditerranée in the American Historical Review (July, 1952), LVII, 948.
24. The Crónica abreviada of Juan Manuel in Chapter 12 spells Almuiuces "Almonices," which shows how all contact with the sources was lost. See R. L. Grismer's private printing of this text, (Minneapolis, 1957).

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THE NINETEENTH CENTURY CANCIONERO GENERAL
DEL SIGLO XV

By Jules Piccus, University of Rhode Island

Among the numerous manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid there is a collection of eleven bound manuscripts, all of which bear the title Cancionero del siglo xv on the spines of the bindings. Charles Aubrun mentions this series of manuscripts in his article on the sources for fifteenth century Spanish poetry which appears in the fourth volume of the Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal (pp. 306-307), but the information given there concerning this collection is extremely fragmentary and imprecise. My purpose in preparing this paper is to present a more accurate indication of the contents of this important collection, to identify two of the primary textual sources of this collection, which Aubrun was unable to identify, and to show how a study of this cancionero has led to the solution of problems concerned with the contents of two other as yet unpublished cancioneros of the fifteenth century, both of which, strangely enough, go by the name Cancionero de Gallardo.

It would be impossible, in a short paper, to go into great detail concerning all of the points just mentioned. I shall therefore, of necessity, limit myself to basic considerations. A more detailed article on this Cancionero will shortly appear in Spanish in Spain.

Fortunately, we are able to learn a great deal about the collection, due to the fact that a letter dated September 29, 1807, from one of the King's officials to one of the compilers of the collection, was somehow included among the folios of one of the manuscripts.

Further information comes to us from the numerous marginal notes included by the compilers, copyists, and correctors of the nine manuscripts of texts and two manuscripts of indices that make up the entire collection. Thus we find that the title of the collection should be Cancionero general del siglo xv rather than Cancionero del siglo xv; that a group of Spanish scholars wrote to the King on August 29, 1807, suggesting the formation of a grandiose, new Cancionero general del siglo xv; that the King approved the plan; that on September 29, 1807, he officially authorized the formation of the collection; that he placed at the disposal of the compilers his entire private library of manuscripts and printed books; and that he ordered the Royal Press to underwrite all the expenses involved in carrying out the enterprise. Also available to the compilers were the manuscripts and printed books of other noblemen of the Court and the holdings of the Royal Academies. When completed, the compilation, to consist of texts, notes and indices, was to be printed, but the war against Napoleon apparently halted the work on the compilation and the eleven bound manuscripts in

the Biblioteca Nacional are an incomplete and truncated version of what began, under most favorable auspices, as a glorious new Cancionero general del siglo xv.

Even in its incomplete state the cancionero is formidable. Aubrun's description of the collection gives the impression that only ten different sources for texts (a large number in itself) were employed, namely:

The Cancionero general of 1540, the Cancionero de Amberes of 1557, the Cancionero de Ramón de Llaviá, the Cancionero de Estúñiga, the cancioneros of the poems of the Marqués de Santillana of the Royal Palace, the Cancionero de Gómez Manrique, the so-called Cancionero de Valera (593 of the Royal Palace, now at the University of Salamanca), the so-called Cancionero de Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (Number 594 of the Royal Palace, published some years ago by Francisca Vendrell); and finally, a so-called Manuscript 247 of the Royal Library, and a Cancionero A of the King's Library, neither of which Aubrun succeeded in identifying, even after having searched for them in the libraries of Madrid.

However, an investigation of the entire Cancionero general del siglo xv indicates that fifty-one different books and manuscripts are cited, and that of these fifty-one, twenty-one were copied either wholly or in part. References to the works of two hundred and forty-nine different poets can be found in the indices, and poetic works of one hundred and thirty-one named writers have been copied. The discrepancy between the number of poets and their works listed in the indices (the last two manuscripts of the collection) and the number of poets and their works actually found in the copied texts of the nine preceding manuscripts to be copied were compiled first; then the copying of the texts was undertaken. Sometimes, also, texts were copied for which, apparently, no previous indices were as yet prepared. Since the entire enterprise was left in an incomplete state the editors obviously did not have the time or the opportunity to correlate the entries in the texts copied with the indices of the two final manuscripts of indices.

In both indices and texts we find the same sequence, namely, alphabetical order by author. From time to time we find among the texts bits of indices which, according to the plan of the entire work, should normally be found among the indices of the two final volumes, but in general the alphabetical order is followed. The Cancionero general del siglo xv is remarkable in that it includes, even in its incomplete state, the tables of contents of a number of cancioneros and some works of several poets which were published forty years to a century later--for example, the table of contents of Manuscript 593 of the Royal Palace (the manuscript is still unpublished) and Manuscript 594 (which has been published), the Cancionero de Ramón de Llaviá, the Cancionero de Estúñiga, an almost complete list of all the works of the Marques de Santillana, Alexandre,

Juan de Dueñas, and Pérez de Guzmán known to us to-day, as well as the greater part of two other fifteenth century cancioneros, the so-called Manuscript 247 and the Cancionero A, which are still unpublished. Had the project been completed and the work printed as planned, we should have had available and in print a wonderful collection of texts, some of which even in the present day are still in manuscript form.

Two of the textual sources for the compilation which were copied almost entirely, and which, as previously indicated, Aubrun failed to identify, are the so-called Cancionero A de la libreria de camara del Rei and the so-called Manuscript 247 de la Biblioteca Real. Aubrun lists the Cancionero A as one of many cancioneros which remain either unidentified, lost, or misplaced. As for Manuscript 247, except for stating that it is a source for the entire collection, he makes no further mention of it.

Now, when the compilers of the Cancionero general del siglo xv copied a text they indicated, with but few exceptions, the original source from which they had copied it. They mentioned no folio numbers of the original texts except, inexplicably, when referring to the Cancionero de Estúñiga and again on random and rare, although for us important, occasions. Thus there appear numerous texts in the collection indicated as having been copied from the Cancionero A and from Manuscript 247. Although Aubrun was aware of this procedure on the part of the copyists of the collection, and although he recognized that the Cancionero A, one of the sources, was very important, he made no serious attempt to reconstruct the Cancionero A from the numerous texts copied in the Cancionero general del siglo xv. He believed, however, that such a reconstruction might be possible.

I was able, by means of a laborious process of examining the entire series of manuscripts, to reconstruct the portions of the original text of the so-called Cancionero A which were copied in the Cancionero general del siglo xv, finding that some two hundred and twenty-five poems of forty-four named poets and fourteen poems by unnamed authors were copied from that text. Among these poems, much to my surprise, I found the five of the Marqués de Santillana, previously unpublished, that I had recently published, and also a long sequence of the poems of Juan de Dueñas, which I have been preparing for publication.

I recognized that in this so-called Cancionero A de la libreria de camara del rei I had by chance come upon either another name for the unpublished manuscript now called El cancionero de San Román or El Cancionero de Gallardo of the Academia de la Historia of Madrid, which I am preparing for publication, or else a copy of that manuscript. Bearing in mind the few (about fifteen) random references to folio numbers of the so-called Cancionero A included by the copyists, additional marginal notes of the copyists with reference to missing folios of Cancionero A or to verses or portions of verses which were missing in the

original text or which had been destroyed in the process of binding of Cancionero A, I found them all to coincide exactly with similar notes that could be made concerning the Cancionero de San Román (or de Gallardo), which I examined in the Academia de la Historia of Madrid. There can be no doubt that this Cancionero A de la libreria de camara del rei of the copyists of the Cancionero general del siglo xv, listed by Aubrun as missing, is the Cancionero de San Román otherwise known as the Cancionero de Gallardo now in the Academia de la Historia in Madrid. This cancionero owned by the famous bibliophile and scholar Bartolomé José Gallardo (although it was not described by him in his Ensayo), and later the property of General San Román who gave it to the Academia de la Historia, was originally part of the King's private library. The fragmentary copy of this Cancionero general del siglo xv of 1807 and the marginal notes of the copyists regarding it will aid immeasurably in the preparation for publication of the Cancionero de San Román.

Having reconstructed and identified the so-called Cancionero A I set about similarly reconstructing the so-called Manuscript 247 with the aim of identifying it. From an investigation of the texts and indices in the Cancionero general del siglo xv I found that, according to the copyists, some seventy-nine different poems by eight different authors were included, among them thirty-six poems of a certain Alexandre, seventeen poems of Soria and the well-known anonymous "Ay, panadera," attributed in the collection to Juan de Mena.

The contents of our reconstructed Manuscript 247, with but one or two minor omissions, coincide exactly with the contents of Manuscript 3993 of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid which I examined, an unpublished cancionero known again, by strange coincidence, as the Cancionero de Gallardo, whose contents, although in incomplete form, were given by Bartolomé José Gallardo in his Ensayo, volume one, No. 487. Thus, after investigation, Manuscript 247 turned out to be another known, although as yet unpublished, fifteenth century cancionero.

Gallardo, it will be remembered, raised quite a furor over this cancionero, acquiring and then losing it in 1823, and finally recovering it on January 7, 1836, from among the effects of Don Manuel María Gámez. A note by Gallardo concerning this cancionero included in his Ensayo along with the description of its contents has given the impression that when Gallardo recovered it some seventy folios (almost half of the original contents) were missing. Thus scholars, among them Aubrun and Francisca Vendrell, have from time to time identified the so-called missing portion with one or another incomplete cancionero, with no real basis for their guesswork.

But if Manuscript 247, copied around 1807, and this Cancionero de Gallardo (determined to be the same manuscript) include, with one or two minor omissions, the same poems, then the present claim that about half of the contents known to Gallardo are missing must be wrong. It is. The critics have

based their reasonable, although erroneous, interpretation upon an ambiguous note in Gallardo's Ensayo. But marginal notes written by Gallardo himself in his Cancionero (Manuscript 3993) and marginal notes by the copyists of the so-called Manuscript 247 in the Cancionero general del siglo xv, considered along with Gallardo's note in his Ensayo leave no room for doubt that the Cancionero de Gallardo, otherwise known as Manuscript 3993 of the Biblioteca Nacional or Manuscript 247 of the Biblioteca Real, had the same contents in the years 1807, 1823, 1836, and 1959. The marginal notes of our copyists referring to Manuscript 247 say that the folios of the original manuscript which they were copying were not numbered, and they cite further the first lines of the last two poems of the original manuscript. Gallardo's notes on folio 1 of his Cancionero say that he himself inserted the folio numbers of the Cancionero, that the bound Cancionero was twice as thick, and that it had at the beginning a notebook of Observations. Now Gallardo's statement in the year 1836 that he inserted the folio numbers is completely in line with the note of the copyists of 1807 in which they say that the original manuscript bore no folio numbers. Secondly, the Cancionero de Gallardo in its present form terminates with the same poems listed by the copyists as the two final poems of Manuscript 247. Since the folio numbers in the present Cancionero de Gallardo, in Gallardo's own handwriting, go in complete sequence from numbers one to seventy inclusive (no folios are missing), it can be said with certainty that from Gallardo's Cancionero no part of the text itself was lost. What was lost or stolen was the book of Observations, which observations were probably made by the copyists of the Cancionero general del siglo xv when they were preparing their copy for print.

A final word regarding Manuscript 247. In one of the handwritten catalogue books in the Manuscript section of the Biblioteca Nacional we find listed as missing a certain Manuscript 247. This manuscript was doubtless taken from the Royal Library which later came to be a part of the Biblioteca Nacional. It has returned under a different title, namely, Manuscript 3993.

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PUNTI DI RAFFRONTO TRA IL PIACERE E A REBOURS

By Olga Ragusa, Columbia University

Poche figure riescono così meschine come quelle dello scopritore di fonti, quando costui si manifesti sotto specie di spennacchiatore di corone di lauro. Come v'è una dosimetria pei punti di profitto degli scolari, così, secondo certuni, vi sarebbe una dosimetria circa l'attribuzione delle foglie d'alloro ai poeti. L'epifania delle fonti prova che l'invenzione d'un particolare non è originale? Una foglia di lauro di meno. L'epifania delle fonti prova che un passo non è se non la contaminazione di due o più passi d'altri autori? Altra foglia di lauro di meno. E il malcapitato poeta si tenga soddisfatto se può cavarsela col sacrificio della peneia fronda; chè di solito si guadagnerà per soprammercato, la taccia di ladro, di rapinatore, di truffatore dell'umanità.¹

Son queste le parole con cui Mario Praz si accinge ad uno studio su "D'Annunzio e l'amore sensuale della parola,"² che, in fondo, non è altro che un lungo elenco di passi dannunziani messi a raffronto di altri, di diversi autori. Senonchè l'analisi del Praz non è diretta all'accertamento di plagi e della loro condanna dal punto di vista morale, quale fu, invece, il caso della famosa questione dei plagi dannunziani, agitata nelle pagine della Gazzetta Letteraria nel 1896,³ che sollevò l'indignazione di "mezza Italia," e che si trascinò poi attraverso parecchie annate della Critica.⁴ E non è certo nostra intenzione riaprire la vieta polemica esaminando ora alcuni punti di contatto fra i due romanzi, Il piacere e A rebours.⁵

È luogo comune della critica sottolineare la parentela che corre tra Andrea Sperelli e Floressas Des Esseintes, rappresentanti entrambi del più spinoso decadentismo.⁶ Sperelli, poeta e acquafortista di raffinatissimo gusto, rovina nella più profonda abbiezione morale; Des Esseintes, urtato fin nelle fibre più nascoste del suo essere dalla volgarità dell'epoca in cui è costretto a vivere, si ritrae dalla vita fino a rasentare la follia. E se A rebours è un vero documento delle aberrazioni e della più esagerata moda artistica dei cenacoli della Francia fin de siècle, Il piacere può parimenti venir considerato un repertorio degli atteggiamenti e delle forme mentali di Roma bizantina. Ma l'identità del clima spirituale di cui i due romanzi risentono, usciti a breve distanza uno dall'altro, A rebours nel 1884, Il piacere nel 1889, basterebbe tutt'al più a spiegare l'impressione di già visto e di già udito che il lettore, anche più affrettato, percepisce di fronte alla loro successiva lettura. Il culto dei fiori, della poesia,

della musica, il piacere provato dinanzi all'accortissima scelta di profumi, colori, tessuti, il languire sotto le sensazioni più acute, la mania del collezionista, il succedersi di tappezzieri, di gioiellieri, di artigiani, di servi dal passo felpato--ombre e non esseri umani--nella quiete di lussuose dimore: questi sono elementi comuni non solo al Piacere e a A rebours, ma ad innumerevoli altri romanzi dell'epoca. Abbiamo pertanto la conferma di D'Annunzio stesso che nel presente caso l'avvicinamento non è fortuito. In una lettera al suo traduttore francese, Georges Hérelle, lettera che data dal loro scambio di corrispondenza a proposito della traduzione dell'Innocente, D'Annunzio scrive: "Il piacere est un livre très curieux, tout imprégné d'art, qui a peut-être quelque parenté avec A rebours de J.-K. Huysmans."⁷

Ora se la critica ha indicato in tutta una schiera di scrittori, da Gautier, Bourget, Barrès, Flaubert, Zola, Maupassant, Baudelaire, Verlaine, Péladan e Sainte-Beuve a Chateaubriand e Byron, i precursori del D'Annunzio del Piacere,⁸ la sua dichiarazione ci permette di lasciare da parte altri elementi del suo romanzo per concentrarci unicamente su quelli che potrebbero risalire alla diretta ispirazione di A rebours.

Primo fra questi, se ci atteniamo a ciò che ha detto D'Annunzio stesso, è l'importanza data, nei due romanzi, al sentimento artistico, all'analisi di opere d'arte, all'enumerazione di opere d'arte, in breve, all'arte coll'A maiuscola. Non vi è pagina in essi che non contenga allusioni artistiche, sia che queste si trovino in frasi come, "Pareva una creatura di Thomas Lawrence,"⁹ o "La sua faccia, che pareva uscita fuori da una pagina classica del gran figuratore umorista O-kousai"¹⁰--rassomiglianze che si susseguono con stucchevole ed esasperante monotonia e profusione nel Piacere--o che siano riferimenti più generici all'amore che ognuno dei due protagonisti porta alle cose belle, preziose e rare. Ma già qui c'imbattiamo in una fondamentale differenza tra i due libri, differenza dovuta al fatto che, benchè D'Annunzio si illudesse di aver fatto di Andrea Sperelli un altro "giovin signore" capace di illustrare il suo ambiente con la stessa vivacità e con lo stesso intento pedagogico che non quello del Parini, la verità è che il suo personaggio non si discosta mai dalla personalità del romanziere stesso. E la corruzione morale del protagonista non si trasforma in perversione, o piuttosto inversione, del gusto artistico, cioè, i canoni della bellezza restan pur sempre quelli riconosciuti dal Rinascimento. La reazione di D'Annunzio in ciò è simile a quella degli italiani in generale che "non hanno occhio per il bizzarro (eccetto quando inventano nuove forme di maccheroni). . . e quando il bizzarro c'è da noi. . . ci passan davanti e fan finta di nulla, o scrolano le spalle tutt'al più."¹²

Fra i musicisti prediletti dallo Sperelli stanno Mozart, Haydn, Cherubini, Rameau, Paisiello, Beethoven, Chopin e Schumann; fra i poeti Goethe, Schiller e soprattutto Byron e Shelley; fra i pittori Botticelli, Correggio, i ritrattisti del settecento inglese, i quattrocentisti fiorentini--il loro motto po-

trebbe quasi essere: "La Bellezza che non ha dolori."¹³ Des Esseintes, invece, ha allontanato dalla sua biblioteca tutto ciò che in arte poteva ricordargli la vita di ogni giorno. Significativa è la preferenza data al Flaubert della Tentation de Saint Antoine e di Salammbô, piuttosto che a quello dell'Education sentimentale. E lo stesso si ripete per la scelta fatta tra le opere dei Goncourt, dello Zola, di Victor Hugo, e nell'approvazione completa data a Verlaine, Corbière, Villiers, e soprattutto a Mallarmé. In musica Des Esseintes predilige Wagner; in arte Gustave Moreau, Odilon Redon e certe opere allucinanti dei Fiamminghi. Tutto ciò, s'intende, inoltre alla sua vera passione per gli scrittori latini della decadenza.¹⁴

Ben diverso, dunque, Andrea Sperelli da Des Esseintes, anche nell'entusiasmo di questi per i fiori mostruosi, per le piante tropicali, per le forme convulse, per l'orribile e per l'anormale nelle sue espressioni più paradossali.¹⁵ Infatti, la loro diversa sensibilità artistica potrebbe benissimo riassumersi nel fiore prediletto da ognuno: l'orchidea da Des Esseintes--e più il fiore vero si avvicina nelle sfumature dei colori, nel tessuto delle vene, nella sua tattilità, a quello falso, più è per lui oggetto di estasiato compiacimento--la rosa da Sperelli. E il lettore reso già insofferente dal cumulo di erudizione estetizzante che, accompagnandolo per tutti i musei d'Italia e per tutte le gallerie private, gli ricorda le opere di troppi artisti, e non gli concede un momento di respiro, non sa proprio più come difendersi dal profumo delle rose, che lo perseguita fino in fondo, dalle prime pagine che descrivono Elena, alla fine di ogni convegno d'amore, nel rituale gesto di sfogliare tutti i fiori che si trovano in Casa Sperelli, sino alla straordinaria scena del fascio di rose bianche gettato dallo Sperelli davanti alla porta di Maria Ferres.¹⁶ E per completare l'inventario dei fiori, bisogna pure aggiungere che, nel Piacere quando non sono rose, sono viole!

Nonostante l'asserzione di D'Annunzio, che si sofferma sul late "arte" di A rebours, ci si potrebbe domandare se il romanzo francese non abbia anche potuto avere un qualche influsso su di un altro aspetto del Piacere. E cioè, sull'insistere di D'Annunzio che il suo è uno studio psicologico e morale. Nella lettera di dedica a Francesco Paolo Michetti, di cui D'Annunzio era ospite durante la stesura del romanzo, egli dice del suo libro: ". . . questo libro, nel quale io studio, non senza tristezza, tanta corruzione e tanta depravazione e tante sottilità e falsità e crudeltà vane."¹⁷ Ora, Huysmans, nella prefazione scritta vent'anni dopo il romanzo, non si lascia andare a nessuna osservazione di questo genere. Anzi, tiene a precisare, dopo aver fatto un po' il processo al naturalismo, che, nel momento in cui si mise a scrivere A rebours non aveva nessun'idea precisa in mente: "Je cherchais vaguement à m'évader d'un cul-de-sac où je suffoquais, mais je n'avais aucun plan déterminé et A rebours, qui me libéra d'une littérature sans issue, en m'aérant, est un ouvrage parfaitement inconscient, imaginé sans idées préconçues, sans intentions réservées d'avenir, sans rien du tout."¹⁸ Eppure questo libro senza programma, grazie proprio

alla preparazione naturalistica di Huysmans (egli, infatti, riferendosi alla situazione del naturalismo nel 1884, parla della "somme d'observations que chacun avait emmagasinée, en les prenant sur soi-même et sur les autres"¹⁹), è riuscito la più sistematica analisi del programma già enunciato da Baudelaire, quello del forzamento della natura da parte di un essere eccezionale che si sia prefisso il compito di sostituire per tutto e in tutto l'artificiale al naturale, il voluto all'occasionale, il previsto all'imprevedibile.²⁰ Sempre nella stessa prefazione Huysmans dice:

A mesure que j'y réfléchissais, le sujet s'agrandissait et nécessitait de patientes recherches: chaque chapitre devenait le coulis d'une spécialité, le sublimé d'un art différent; il se condensait en un "of meat" de piergeries, de parfums, de fleurs, de littérature religieuse et laïque, de musique profane et de plain-chant.²¹

Cosicchè senza essere partito da questo proposito, Huysmans ha però finito per dare a questo libro forma di studio vero e proprio, di presentazione quasi scientifica da cui lo scrittore si tiene gelosamente discosto. D'Annunzio, d'altronde, non poteva non sentire quanto di personale vi fosse nella figura di Andrea Sperelli. Dice, infatti, sempre nella lettera a Georges Hérelle: "J'écrivis mon premier roman Il piacere, où je mis, comme pour m'en délivrer [da ricordarsi qui quanto disse Huysmans], toutes mes prédictions de forme et de couleur, toutes mes subtilités, toutes mes préciosités, confusément."²² Compiaciuto e allo stesso tempo reso un po' incerto da tale contaminazione tra vita ed arte (non bisogna dimenticare che D'Annunzio aveva fatto anche lui il suo tirocinio realista), la possibilità di interpretare la parte autobiografica del romanzo come studio, come rappresentazione psicologica e di ambiente, gli viene molto a proposito. Il punto debole diventa così il punto forte, e l'illusione di D'Annunzio di aver fatto altra cosa che ciò che aveva veramente fatto--perchè Il piacere non è nato in nessun senso dal genere di ricerche di cui parla Huysmans--si trova, grazie all'esempio di A rebours, confermata.

Lasciando da parte altri punti di contatto, come, per esempio, l'intenzione sacrilega--oggetti e paramenti liturgici preposti ad usi profani: basti qui ricordare la camera da letto ideata da Des Esseintes, o il sarcofago romano diventato tavola da toeletta in casa dello Sperelli--oppure il diverso gusto dei due protagonisti in fatto di donne (in questo punto si rivela, ancora una volta, il fondamentale sentimentalismo di D'Annunzio, mentre è stato detto di Des Esseintes: "Des Esseintes n'est plus un être organisé à la manière d'Obermann, de René, d'Adolphe, ces héros de romans humains, passionnés, et coupables. C'est une mécanique détraquée. Rien de plus. . . ."²³), possiamo soffermarci su un'ultima osservazione. Il raffronto tra Il piacere e A rebours, che abbiamo fatto seguendo l'indicazione di D'Annunzio stesso, ci permette di additare proprio in questo caso un nuovo esempio del consueto modo di comporre di D'Annunzio.

Egli dice di Sperelli, in una frase di fondamentale importanza: "Quasi sempre per incominciare a comporre, egli aveva bisogno d'una intonazione musicale datagli da un altro poeta."²⁴ D'Annunzio si è servito di A rebours proprio in questa maniera. Incapace per temperamento ed educazione di comprendere la piena portata del decadentismo più raffinato e pervertito (quello di cui Des Esseintes concentra la quintessenza, ma che ebbe in Barrès, Gourmont e Mal-larmé i suoi veri epigoni), D'Annunzio--parvenu della cultura, "barbaro raffinato," com'è stato definito da Praz²⁵--ha tratto da una lettura superficiale di A rebours alcuni spunti per il suo romanzo, e soprattutto l'idea per una nuova possibilità di nobilitare le effusioni di Andrea Sperelli, dando loro valore documentario.

NOTES

1. M. Praz, La carne, la morte e il diavolo nella letteratura romantica (Firenze: Sansoni, 1948), p. 459.
2. Ibid., pp. 459-517. Ripresa dell'articolo in Critica, XXI (1923), pp. 43-45, 95-97, 372-373.
3. Gazzetta Letteraria, XX (Torino, 1896), 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19.
4. "Reminiscenze e imitazioni nella letteratura italiana durante la seconda metà del secolo XIX," Critica, VII (1909), 165-177; VIII (1910), 22-31; IX (1911), 413-420; X (1912), 257-263, 423-430; XI (1913), 431-440.
5. G. D'Annunzio, Il piacere (Roma: Il Vittoriale degli Italiani, 1942). J.-K. Huysmans, A rebours (Paris: Charpentier, 1919).
6. G. Gabetti, "Decadentismo," Dizionario Letterario Bompiani (1947), I, 57-60.
7. G. D'Annunzio à G. Hérelle--Correspondance (Paris: Denoël, 1946), p. 130.
8. A. Albertazzi, Il romanzo (Milano: Vallardi, 1904), p. 335.
9. D'Annunzio, p. 58.
10. Ibid., p. 70.
11. E. De Michelis, "Il piacere," Dizionario Letterario Bompiani (1948), V, 516; A. Gargiulo, Gabriele D'Annunzio (Firenze: Sansoni, 1941), p. 98.
12. M. Praz, "Storture," Il Tempo, 25 gennaio 1958.
13. Ibid., loc. cit.
14. J.-K. Huysmans, Cap. XIV, Cap. V, Cap. III.
15. Ibid., Cap. VIII.
16. D'Annunzio, pp. 13, 432.
17. Ibid., p. 6.
18. J.-K. Huysmans, pp. v, vi.
19. Ibid., p. v.
20. C. Baudelaire, Oeuvres posthumes (Paris: Mercure de France, 1908), p. 411.

21. Huysmans, p. vi.
22. G. D'Annunzio à G. Hérelle--Correspondance, p. 130.
23. Barbey D'Auréville, Le Roman Contemporain (Paris: Lemerre, 1902), pp. 274-5.
24. D'Annunzio, pp. 207-208.
25. Praz, pp. 405-407.

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LAW FRENCH:
ITS PROBLEMS AND THE STATUS OF THE SCHOLARSHIP

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Law French is commonly thought of among scholars with the same good-natured condescension with which a visitor confronts Brooklynese (unless he is a guest on "The Last Word"), or a Berliner Swäbian. How corrupt Law French became can best be seen from this seventeenth-century account:

Richardson, ch. Just. de C. Banc. al Assises at Salisbury in Summer 1631. fuit assault per prisoner la condemne pur felony que puis son condamnation ject un Brickbat a le dit Justice que narrowly mist, & pur ceo immediately fuit indictment drawn per Noy envers le prisoner, & son dexter manus amputé & fix al Gibbet sur que luy mesme immediatment hange in presence de Court.¹

But the Brickbat "que narrowly mist" was thrown in 1631: four centuries of Law French lie on the other side of that grand landmark of barbarous language, and it is rather to those centuries and especially to some considerations of the problems of Law French in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, together with some estimate of the present scholarship, that I now invite you to turn.

Our first questions, then, are: What was Law French? What was its relation to Anglo-Norman? What was its duration? One strong position is that of M. Dominica Legge, who insists that "it is essential to bear in mind that the Year Books of Edward II (1307-1327) are written in Anglo-Norman, not Law French." The effect of this position is to draw the line at the point at which the language of the lawyers became so highly technical a language that it was no longer understandable to the layman, and to declare that up to that point the language was Anglo-Norman, afterwards Law French. This position has merit; it firmly anchors Law French where it belongs, as an integral part of Anglo-Norman--the disadvantages I shall come back to, for we want here to continue with Miss Legge's comment:

The Anglo-Norman of the earlier Year Books was the language of the Court, Parliament, the Universities, the grammar schools, and of all people of consideration. The reign of Edward II is the last of which this can be said, but it is none the less true. This language

was not a patois, but was a dialect spoken and written by men as cultured as any in Europe. It must, moreover, be remembered that Anglo-Norman was only one of many branches of the Langue d'oïl, and that men like Bereford had no more call to be ashamed of speaking Anglo-Norman than Froissart had of writing his native Hainault.²

None can doubt the achievement in Anglo-Norman from the late eleventh century through the fourteenth, an achievement linguistically perhaps most impressive in its precocity, but we may wish to remind ourselves of that achievement by means of Professor Ruth J. Dean's summary statement:

The first recorded French lyric, the earliest translations of the Bible into French, the earliest French liturgical drama, the first writing of history in French are Anglo-Norman products. The Anglo-Norman yearbooks are the first vernacular reports of lay lawyers north of the Alps. Patronage by the Anglo-Norman court was responsible for some of the dissemination of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Arthurian material. The oldest surviving manuscript of the Chanson de Roland was transcribed in England, one of the earliest surviving versions of the Tristan story is by an Anglo-Norman poet, and several Middle English romances had Anglo-Norman predecessors.³

We cannot here explore the problem of what the language of English law and lawyers was before Edward I, fascinating and necessary though it may be to a full conspectus of Law French. But we must at least consider an important article in Speculum fifteen years ago, in which Professor G. E. Woodbine of Yale came to the conclusion that in the generation before Edward I, French "had not yet become that exclusively technical language of the law which the Year Books lead us to believe it was in his day. Clearly, then, a change and development in the use of French by English lawyers took place in the period between Bracton and the Year Books."⁴ But from the approach of a scholar of Old French and Anglo-Norman, Miss Legge has commented: "[Woodbine's suggestion] that Law French was not originally an integral part of Anglo-Norman, and that the spread of French to the law and administration is due to the flood of adventurers in the reign of Henry III, is interesting and stimulating, but could not have been made by someone brought up in an atmosphere of English traditions...."⁵ Yet Woodbine's lengthy and widely accepted article has not yet been answered point by point, which needs to be done in order to clarify the nature and genesis of Law French.

The most impressive work in Law French has been done patiently and steadily in the editing of Year Books by the Selden Society. Begun under the great Maitland, the work has continued for more than fifty years and is presently moving steadily if slowly under the direction of Professor T. F. T. Plucknett. Legal historians are aware of the great value of these Year Books in the splendid Selden Society editions, but I doubt that historians of language and letters are sufficiently aware of this value. First, we have the inestimable advantage of dated documents--no small boon to the paleographer, to the linguistics scholar or to the historian of ideas. Second, these legal manuscripts come to us in all of the rudeness but genuineness of the everyday; they give us the intimate activity of the law, as Maitland said, at the intersection of life and logic:

No one has tried to polish and prune, or to make what is written better than what was heard. We fancy that learned men who explore the history of the French of Paris would sacrifice many a chanson de geste for a few reports of conversation that were as true to nature, as true to sound, as are our Year Books.⁷

Yet not enough has been done with these reports of conversation, not enough study has been made of the old lawyers as "word-makers, phrase-makers, thought-makers"--to use again one of Maitland's splendid phrases.⁸ How much can be done is amply revealed in one of the most recent Year Book editions, that of 12 Edward II, 1319, where we have an objective study of the linguistic conditions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: two common and characteristic verbs, atteindre and entendre, are studied in all their legal and literary uses. A total of forty-three pages is devoted to these two verbs. As a result of such studies we can buttress all that Maitland claimed for the language; we have begun to see the merits of the language of the English lawyers during the century of its greatest development, 1250-1350. First, as we have known since the presentation of Maitland's views a half-century ago, that language was pure and adequate in vocabulary; second, it was more regular in its orthography than was formerly recognized; above all, it was a living language which, by the middle of the thirteenth century when the internal development of the common law demanded it, offered a strong vehicle of thought and expression.⁹

Law French is "often spoken of casually as though it were a well-known field," as Professor Dean has rightly pointed out, "but the history of the formation of Law French is still to be written."¹⁰ Only a handful of legal historians are at all interested in the problem of language; only a very small handful of the brave tribe of Anglo-Normanists is at all interested in the law. I, who am concerned with the Inns of Court as intellectual centers, as the Third University of England, and am therefore interested in the role of Law

French in the Inns, unhappily am neither Anglo-Normanist nor legal historian; but the neglect of Law French from both sides has forced a layman to trespass on legal domain--and I use the term "trespass" not technically (to signify an act done with force and arms and against the peace) but figuratively, as any layman might.¹¹

There is much to be gained from our trespass upon Law French. There is the great wealth of materials. For example, Professor Pope, in her grammar which is the most recent and extensive study of Old French, drew her material for the chapters devoted to Anglo-Norman from about forty published texts and about thirty manuscripts. As Professor Dean has pointed out, when we consider that well over four hundred Anglo-Norman texts are known, we can see how much scope remains for expanding Pope's grammar. In Law French there are uncounted manuscripts, hundreds perhaps, which are, of course, largely from the later period. They are of inestimable value in being, as a rule, precisely dated texts, giving us models with which to compare the language of literary texts which offer no such clues.¹²

We may now ask: What is needed in the field of Law French? First, a glossary. A glossary of Law French, a dictionary of Anglo-Norman terms of law and government, is being prepared by the Selden Society, but its publication is not to be expected for five years. Such a dictionary obviously will be an enormously helpful tool not only for editors but also for students of all levels and approaches. Second, a catalogue of the manuscripts. We know the manuscripts of the Year Books, thanks to the researches of Maitland, Bolland and others,¹³ and we know the manuscripts of Bracton, Fortescue, Littleton, and other individuals,¹⁴ as we now do the manuscripts of readings and moots in the fifteenth and sixteenth century Inns, thanks to Professor Thorne,¹⁵ but there are many scattered manuscripts, and we should now have as complete a catalogue of the manuscripts of Law French as present scholarship permits. Next, we want to know much more about the teaching of Law French. Very little is being done to compare with the doctoral study of Jennifer Nicholson on the teaching of French in England from 1250 to 1450, although D. S. Bland has touched upon this problem in his more general study of education in the Inns during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁶ A reader of legal writings, a chrestomathy of Law French, would help to introduce many students to the subject, but I despair of trying to find a publisher for such a work. Mostly we need research in depth on all kinds of problems: on periods of ten or twenty years, investigation of language and writings with the whole cultural complex in mind--the social and literary, the economic and constitutional, the religious and the educational--bearing always in mind that the English lawyer of the later Middle Ages was a man of three languages, Latin and French as well as English.¹⁷

These things having been studied and their conclusions presented, then

we might hope for the history of the development of Law French, which in turn is so necessary a part of the full story of Anglo-Norman.

Law French, as we all know, continued to be used far longer than the Anglo-Norman outside the law courts. The statute of 1362 which allowed English in the courts did not greatly change the use of Law French as the language of the law.¹⁸ For a century afterwards Fortescue still asserted that lawyers could not get along without "terms which pleaders do more properly express in French than in English."¹⁹ During the reign of Henry VIII the language was seen by some as corrupt,²⁰ but after the turn of the century Coke (usually, of course, on the defense of the common law and its institutions) tried to justify the kind of French in use in the common law--indeed, not merely to justify but to praise. In his famous preface to Littleton, 1628, Coke spoke of Littleton's treatise as "the most perfect and absolute work that ever was written in any human science."²¹ Although in 1650 its use in lawsuits was abolished by Cromwell, Law French was restored by Charles II.²² And so the dying language hung on into the eighteenth century, and an Englishman named Roger North, who lived until 1734, could feel strongly that Law French was vital, that "really the law is scarce expressible in English, and, when it is done, it must be Fran^çoise or very uncouth."²³ Finally, as Woodbine has shown, as late as 1730

a statute recited that the proceedings in courts of justice were [being] carried on in a language unknown to those who were summoned and impleaded, and ordered that after March, 1733, "all proceedings... shall be in the English tongue and language only, and not in Latin or French."²⁴

Thus ends the story of Law French, not with a bang but with a whimper. Yet, to close with two considerations of that great historian Maitland, the later history of Law French as a part of the larger history of Anglo-Norman bears out his trenchant observation that "in matters of language the careless, the slovenly, the vulgar, are often the pioneers and ultimately the victors"; and, in a last appraisal, "We shall have to admit that with all its faults this Anglo-French enabled our lawyers to think out a system of rules which sinned rather on the side of subtlety than on that of rudeness, and to develop a scheme of technical concepts which was durable enough, and, it may be, but too durable. The language which did this deserves respectful treatment."²⁵

I hope that some of you may be led to accord it some measure of respectful treatment.

NOTES

1. F. W. Maitland, English Law and the Renaissance (Cambridge University Press, 1901), p. 68, citing Pollock, First Book of Jurisprudence, p. 283, from Dyer's Reports, 188 b, in the notes added in ed. 1688.
2. Introduction to Year Books 10 Edward II, 1316-17 (Selden Society, Year Books Series, XX, 1934), pp. xxx ff., "The Salient Features of the Language of the Earlier Year Books."
3. Ruth J. Dean, "A Fair Field Needing Folk: Anglo-Norman," PMLA, LXIX (1954), 965-78.
4. G. E. Woodbine, "The Language of English Law," Speculum, xviii (1943), 395-436.
5. M. D. Legge, "The French Language and the English Cloister," in Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham (Oxford, 1950), p. 157 (146-62). Reference should be made to her Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions (Cambridge U. P., 1941) and Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters (Edinburgh U. P., 1950); see review in MLN (Nov. 1951).
6. That aspect of Woodbine's argument which hangs upon a "demonstration of the technicality of Anglo-Norman" has been rejected by John P. Collas in the Introd. to YB 12 Edw. II, 1319 (1951), pp. xix-xx.
7. Maitland, Introd. YB 1 and 2 Edw. II, p. xvii. He is answering the judgment of Taine that it was "un français colonial, avarié, prononcé les dents serrées, avec une contorsion de gosier, à la mode, non de Paris, mais de Stratford-atte-Bowe." (Histoire de la littérature, I, 103). But only a nineteenth century Frenchman rich in his prejudices could sneer at a medieval dialect for not being francien. If there was liberty then in Paris, naturally there was license at Stratford. (See Introd. YB 1 and 2 Edw. II, p. lxxx).
8. Ibid., p. xxxix. But see Introd. to YB 12 Edw. II, 1319 (Selden Society XXIV, 1953), p. xviii ff.
9. There is not space here for documentation of all this declaration. On vocabulary, see Maitland, pp. xxxvii ff., Introd. to YB 12 Edw. II (1953), xviii ff. On morphology and phonology, see M. K. Pope, From Latin to Modern French, 2nd ed. (Manchester Univ. Press, 1952), pp. 427-85; Maitland, pp. xlvi ff.; M. D. Legge, Introd. to YB 10 Edw. II (Selden Society XX, 1934), pp. xxx ff. The close study of atteindre and entendre in the Introd. to YB 12 Edw. II, 1319 (Selden Society XXIV, 1953), pp. xxi-lxiv, richly documents the working towards precision and refinement by the lawyers.
10. PMLA, LXIX (1954), p. 977.
11. I am indebted to G. E. Woodbine for an interesting employment of these two aspects of "trespass," in "The Language of English Law," pp. 396-7.
12. On the importance of dating the work in a study of Anglo-Norman, see Dean, pp. 974-5.

13. F. W. Maitland, Introduction to Year Books 1 and 2 Edward II, 1307-9 (Selden Society, 1903), pp. xxxiii ff. This famous essay was reprinted in part, in the Cambridge History of English Literature, vol. I, ch. xx; for a summary discussion of the whole subject of the language of the Year Books, see Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 2nd ed., I, 80 ff. On the Year Books, see W. C. Bolland, The Year Books (1921) and Manual of Year Book Studies (1925); C. C. Soule, "Year Book Bibliography," Harvard Law Review, xiv, 556 ff.; Short-Title Catalogue, pp. 213-18; W. H. and L. F. Maxwell, Legal Bibliography of the British Commonwealth of Nations (1955), I, 311 ff.; F. J. Pegues, "Year Books of Mediaeval England," unpubl. MA thesis (Cornell, 1948), incorporated into doct. diss. (Cornell, 1951), Law Reporting in Mediaeval Europe. I have not seen J. Lambert, Les Year Books de Langue Française (Paris, 1928).
14. For bibliography to 1950, see Maxwell, Legal Bibliography, and forthcoming sections in the revised Wells' Manual of Writings in Middle English. The Supplementary Volume V of the Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, ed. George Watson (1957), is uneven for legal literature and scholarship.
15. Samuel E. Thorne, Readings and Moots at the Inns of Court in the Fifteenth Century, vol. I, (Selden Society, LXXI, London, 1955). See review by H. G. Richardson, LQR, LXXII, p. 593; vol. II of this work is promised shortly.
16. Jennifer Nicholson, A Contribution to the Study of French as Taught in England, 1250 to 1450; summary in Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, xv (1937-8), pp. 185-6. D. S. Bland, "Education at the Inns of Court, 1400-1550" unpubl. thesis for M. Litt. at University of Durham (1957); Early Records of Furnival's Inn (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1957); "Beating the Bounds in Lincoln's Inn," N&Q, 197 (1952), 133-4.
17. See Maitland, YB 1 and 2 Edw. II (1903), p. lxxx; Legge; B. H. Putnam, The Place in Legal History of Sir William Sharehull (Cambridge U. P., 1950), p. 268, n. 106, et passim.
18. 36 Edw. III, Stat. I, c. 15, printed in Owen Ruffhead, Statutes at Large (London, 1769). For discussion see Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 2nd ed., I, 85 (where it is noted that the statute itself was written in French); Woodbine, "The Language of English Law," p. 396; D. S. Bland, "Rhetoric and the Law Student in Sixteenth Century England," SP, LIV (1957), p. 502; and Holdsworth, History of English Law, II, 477-82.
19. Ch. xlviii, De Laudibus Legum Anglie, ed. S. B. Chrimes (Cambridge U. P., 1942), p. 115.
20. As may be inferred from the report of Sir Nicholas Bacon and others on the state of the Inns of Court: given in full in Fortescutus Illustratus, Edward Waterhous (London, 1663), pp. 539-46. See the discussion of D. S. Bland, pp. 500-2.

21. Bland, pp. 499-500.
22. See J. Vising, Anglo-Norman Language and Literature (Oxford, 1923), p. 23.
23. Quoted by Woodbine, p. 396. See also Maitland, Introd. YB 1 and 2 Edw. II (1903), p. xxxiv.
24. Statute 4 George III, c. 26 (Woodbine, p. 396).
25. Maitland, Introd. YB 1 and 2 Edw. II, pp. lii and lxxx.

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HERDER'S ESTIMATE OF SWIFT

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Scholars have long recognized the existence of a definite relationship between Johann Gottfried Herder and Jonathan Swift. Rudolf Haym, for example, in his late nineteenth century biographical and critical study of Herder, refers to Swift as one of Herder's Lieblingsautoren.¹ Subsequent critics, the most recent of whom was the late Robert Clark, Jr., have considerably amplified Haym's statement describing the relationship between the two men.² We also have the word of Herder's contemporaries. Looking back upon his Strassburg association with Herder, Goethe recalled in Dichtung und Wahrheit that "Herder schien unter allen Schriftstellern und Menschen Swiften am meisten zu ehren."³

An examination of Herder's writings verifies this deep interest in the English satirist. The mass of references to Swift in his works is impressive and indicates an intermittent but steady preoccupation on Herder's part throughout the greater part of his life. There are in his writings, in fact, more allusions to Swift than to any other foreign author, with the understandable exception of Shakespeare. Clearly, then, these references should be evaluated--not only to establish the directions of Herder's interest in and his critical opinion of the English satirist, which, as we shall see, was unique for the eighteenth century, but also to shed new light on Swift's role in eighteenth century Germany.

Swift was indeed enthusiastically read in Germany and his works were known to both the literati and the general reading public. Although his initial fame was based on his exotic novel of travel, Gulliver's Travels, which first appeared in a German version in 1727,⁴ his other works were soon made available to the public. By midcentury his complete works existed in a German translation, the work of Johann Heinrich Waser, a member of the Bodmer circle in Switzerland. The fact that translations of his various works continued to be published in Germany, even after the appearance of the famous Waser translation, attests to his ever-growing popularity.

Herder thus had ample opportunity to become acquainted early with Swift's writings in German translation. However, he was also equipped to read Swift in the original, his studies of the English language dating back to an early period of collaboration with Hamann. We cannot determine exactly when he first began to read Swift. We know that Hartknoch's library was well stocked with English authors and that Herder was able to read some Swift while at Riga. Therefore it is not surprising to find Herder's first allusion to Swift, namely, to his Tale of a Tub, in a work written during his Riga stay.⁵

His many references to Swift show that he was thoroughly conversant with several of this writer's works. Gulliver's Travels and A Tale of a Tub are, as we should expect, mentioned most frequently both early and late in his writings, but his knowledge also ran the gamut to minor essays, poetry, and aphorisms.⁶ Herder's personal library contained the eight volume Waser translation of Swift's works, along with a complete English edition of his writings and various editions of single works, some in English and some in translation.⁷ Interestingly enough, it was from this same library that Jean Paul borrowed some volumes of Swift, and we may well assume that Herder was instrumental in acquainting him with the English writer.

Herder was also familiar with certain biographical accounts of Swift. He frequently refers to Sheridan's biography, excerpts of which he translated in Adrastea.⁸ He seems also to have known Samuel Johnson's spiteful account of Swift's life, which was in direct contrast to Sheridan's idealizing biography.⁹ Still another account of Swift's life, that of John Boyle Orrery, is mentioned in Adrastea.¹⁰

Swift's personality, as it was revealed in these biographical accounts no less than in his works, seems to have had a special appeal for Herder. He himself felt a personal affinity with the English satirist, which at times even took the form of conscious imitation. By nature, Herder was certainly akin to the Dean of St. Patrick's. Goethe stresses in Dichtung und Wahrheit "das Übergewicht Herders widersprechenden, bitteren, bissigen Humors."¹¹ As is well known, Goethe suffered more than once from this bitter side of Herder's nature. Other contemporaries of Herder, notably Lavater and Wieland, also felt the "bite" of his personality and have documented their reaction in their correspondence.¹² To be sure, Herder's bitterness was somewhat palliated by his life in Weimar, but he still could be scathing in his letters and conversations about court life, the fashionable cult for art, and even about his fellow clergymen. When the Duke made one of his rare appearances in church on the occasion of the christening of his first child, Herder preached such a sermon that Goethe is reputed to have said, "After such a sermon there's nothing left for a prince to do but to abdicate."¹³

On the basis of such personal revelations it is not surprising to find a contemporary Herder scholar referring to Herder's Swift-Natur.¹⁴ There, however, the resemblance ends. It never found literary expression. He lacked Swift's discernment and clarity of style and, although he was rarely sparing in his criticism of others, it never became objective satire and was seldom witty or humorous.

When Herder arrived in Strassburg, where Goethe and his circle were eagerly awaiting him, he must, with his stern clerical bearing, have looked like a reincarnated Swift, for they had no sooner caught sight of him than they

nicknamed him the "Dean." Herder did not object to the nickname and in fact used it on occasions in his letters in reference to himself. Thus, for example, in a letter to Merck from Bückeburg, dated October, 1772, he calls himself "der irländische Dechant mit der Peitsche,"¹⁵ while in another instance he speaks of himself languishing in his Irish exile.¹⁶

Another dimension to the relationship between these two eighteenth century figures is provided by Hermann Hettner, who points out that, although the Strassburg group called Herder the "Dean" more in jest than for any other reason, such a comparison was to prove all too true in Herder's later years: "Beide grosse Schriftsteller, Swift und Herder, verzehrten sich in Gram über das Joch ihres geistlichen Standes, dem sie entwachsen waren und das sie doch nicht abzuschütteln vermochten."¹⁷

Such a statement does have some validity. Both men entered the ministry more for convenience than for any other reason and both certainly gave the impression at times of being atypical, frustrated clerics. Herder, to be sure, entered on his pastoral and administrative duties both at Bückeburg and Weimar with high hopes, but in both cases found himself stifling under a petty and rigid society and the onerous duties of his office.¹⁸ Yet both were exemplary in their calling and were two of the outstanding clergymen of the eighteenth century, carrying out their duties capably and conscientiously and thereby ennobling a profession which had in both countries fallen into disrepute.

Perhaps it was Herder's awareness of this biographical and temperamental similarity that attracted him to Swift. Certainly his attitude towards the English wit is decidedly at variance with the view held by many eighteenth century commentators both on the continent and in England. The usual critical reaction to Swift was hostile. His misanthropy, his friendships and enmities, his sexual propensities, real or fabricated, his relationship with Stella and Vanessa, his supposed lack of religious principles, all were pounced upon by the critics--some defended, but the majority condemned--so that a myth sprang up around the man, that was given some substance by Swift's own life and personality. In Germany he found for the most part a sympathetic, receptive audience, although there were dissenting voices. Haller, for example, accused him of political opportunism and ambition and referred to his satire as "schmutzig" and "unanständig."¹⁹ However, Gottsched, Bodmer, Hagedorn, Liscow, Rabener, Gelert, Kästner, Lessing, Lichtenberg, Kant, Goethe, and Jean Paul refer to him in their works in some way and chiefly with respect. Evidences of Swift's influence, or at least stimulus, may also be seen in the works of Rabener and Lichtenberg. But of all the German writers of the eighteenth century his appeal was greatest for Herder, who was to become his staunchest apologist.

Essentially, Herder had discovered the paradox in Swift's life that had escaped so many other eighteenth century commentators, that is, an apparently

misanthropic bent, as revealed in his writings and sayings, which was countered by a spirit of altruism strikingly manifested in his personal contacts and his private charities. Herder was thus ready to balance his Menschenfeindschaft with his Menschenfreundschaft as the following evaluation of Gulliver indicates: "Swifts Roman der Menschenfeindschaft, Gulliver, ist vielleicht vom menschenfreundlichsten, aber kranken, tief-verwundeten und seines Geschlechts überdrüssigen Denker geschrieben."²⁰ Such a view of Swift was, at that time, unique; in fact, such an approach to the man has been instrumental in the modern period, in removing from Swift the obloquy of misanthropy, the work of hostile critics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²¹ The distorted view of the man had to be corrected before one could move on to an appreciation of his works. Herder, thus, was in the van of intelligent Swift criticism.

Yet, as any Herder scholar realizes, consistency is not among his strong points. Accordingly, we find that his view of Swift has its contradictory or inconsequent side also. This seems to be due to a difference in attitude between the younger Herder, willing to accept Swift on any terms, and the older man who looks at Swift's satire through the somewhat sobered eyes of reason and to whom concepts such as Vernunft, Verstand and Geschmack have become more important than the flights of Genie.

The younger Herder was dazzled by the sparkling wit and pungent style of the "ehrwürdiger Satyr," whose satirical works, he maintains, belong among the creations of the great. He places Swift in the select company of Aristophanes, Lucian, Rabelais, Butler, Bacon, Petrarch, and even Dante and Milton.²² He regarded Swift, Addison, and Bolingbroke as the triumvirate of philosophers during Queen Anne's reign,²³ while elsewhere Swift, Addison, and Steele are characterized as the "Triumvirate of English prose," to whom English fiction, especially, owed so much.²⁴ The Sturm und Drang Herder looked on Swift as a Genie, which, as we know, was a highly charged term during the 60's and 70's of the eighteenth century in Germany. It seemed to him that when Swift was banished to Ireland, England had replaced Genie with Geschmack.²⁵

The precision of Swift's prose appealed to the younger Herder, a precision which was "Angemessenheit der Worte, jedes Wort an Stell und Ort."²⁶ He revelled in his use of idiom; he was impressed by his facility with puns, and he was charmed by the effectiveness of Swift's humor which made him only too well aware of the heaviness of German style and its lack of humor.²⁷ Whereas others might be repelled by the directness of Swift's language--he was, after all, never loath to call a spade a spade--Herder would characterize this as "Swifts seltene Volkssprache."²⁸

Although Swift always remained one of his favorites, in the older Herder we detect, as previously mentioned, a partial shift of emphasis. The unqualified enthusiasm that had characterized his early acceptance of Swift is

tempered by reservations about the value of his satire, especially his political satire. To Herder, Swift is now "vielleicht der strengste Verstandesmann, den England unter seine Schriftsteller zählet, der unbestochenste Richter in Sachen des Geschmacks und der Schreibart." However, "er gab sich von bösen Zeitverbindungen gelockt ins Feld der Satyre; wer aber ist, der von Anfang bis zu Ende seines Lebens ihn deswegen nicht bitter beklaget? So treffend seine Streiche, so vernünftig seine Raserei in Einkleidungen und Gleichnissen seyn mag, wie anders sind seine Sätze und Sprüche, wo er reine Vernunft redet."²⁹ Herder had evidently forgotten his earlier assertion, that England had replaced Genie by Geschmack in exiling Swift to Ireland!

The older Herder definitely opposes any subordination of the Muse to Politics:

Nichts verunreinigt den heiligen Quell mehr als politischer Partheigeist; er macht die Muse zur Lügnerin, partheilich, übertreibend, am jetzigen Augenblick als an einer Ewigkeit hängend, und ihm damit die Ewigkeit ertheilend. Die Tochter des Himmels wird unter den Händen der Politik eine kurzsichtige, leidenschaftliche Verläumderin, ³⁰ ein Kind der Erde.

He therefore laments the ephemeral nature of much of Swift's writings, since so many of them depend on a knowledge of the political conditions which engendered them.

Typical also of the older Herder is his unimaginative approach to A Tale of a Tub. From a stylistic standpoint he criticizes the "Gothic" profusion in the work: "Der grösste Bewunderer seiner Talente beklagt die Materie sowohl als die gothische Form, an welche sie gewandt sind; er findet sie in jenem Mode-Unrath, den die selbständigen Insulaner Brittischen Geschmack nennen und der fast keine reine Formen zulässt, verloren."³¹ Herder's attitude towards the Tale is, in general, rather confusing. He incongruously characterizes it as a "politischer Roman," a "historischer Roman," or simply "nichts weniger als ein guter Roman," which, in its attempt to enclose allusions to the contemporary scene within the framework of fiction, is unenjoyable to read because a commentary is needed.³² He admires the Digressions but finds them out of place. In such comments Herder quite surprisingly misses the entire point of the work. In the first place, only a naïve critic could classify it as a Roman--whether historical, political, good, or otherwise. There is, of course, a fable running through it which can be pursued independently: the story of the three brothers and their famous coats. It is there to point up the abuses in religion. But the real fun is in the apparent chaos of the formless Digressions where learning and its abuses are so trenchantly satirized. Herder evidently failed to realize

the dual purpose of the work and believed it to be merely a satire on religion. His dissatisfaction with the Tale later stimulated him to write an answer or Gegenstück to it, Das Mährchen vom Spiegel, ein Gegenstück zu Swifts Mährchen von der Tonne, in which in allegorical fashion he attempted to give his own account of the development and abuses of western religions.³³ A comparison of the two works is matter for a separate paper and is therefore out of order here. It might merely be stated that Herder, unlike Swift, limits himself strictly to the religious theme, and, whereas Swift in his Tale vents his wrath on the Dissenters, Herder for his part fulminates against the Catholics.

The most elaborate evaluation of Swift by Herder is to be found in his Adrastea, which he published in three volumes in 1801-02. A part of the first volume is devoted entirely to England, to the flowering of English literature and thought under Queen Anne. Here the breadth of Herder's learning is most apparent. He is as conversant with John Locke and the Free Thinkers as he is with Shaftesbury. From a discussion of Shaftesbury, he passes on to an evaluation of the reign of Queen Anne, discoursing at length on Marlborough and Lady Sarah, Sommers, Addison, Peterborough, Pope, and Bolingbroke. Finally he pauses to look at his old favorite, Swift, and from the vantage point of his old age he gives us in two lengthy essays his final estimate of the man.³⁴ This is not only a reaffirmation of earlier favorite points of view but also a drastic repudiation of former assertions.

No longer does he object to the aims of Swift's satire or to its transitoriness. Taking issue with the term "Satyriker," as it is often loosely applied to the man, whereby satire is regarded as an instrument of idle ridicule or as something bordering on lampoon, he maintains that not a single syllable of Swift's is written for the sake of mere satire:

Swift umfasst jeden seiner Gegenstände und erschöpft ihn mit eben so treffendem Witz als scharfem Verstande. Vorurtheil oder Laster, Thorheit oder Albernheit, sind bei ihm und zwar in der Einkleidung, die jedem gebühret, von der Wurzel aus untersucht und zum Ideal ihrer Gattung gehoben.³⁵

He reviews for the reader Swift's role in English life and points out that it was he who portrayed the relations of the Freethinkers to the English Church, of poor Ireland to England, and who shed a true light on the religious skeptics, the despicable pride of those in high station, the grossness of the court, of critics, and of enthusiasts. Swift exposed the foolishness of philosophers, the intellectual poverty of bad poets, the empty wind of the "project makers." Whereas Herder had previously criticized Swift and other English authors for confining the Muse within the walls of politics and partisanship, now he praises Swift's

writings for their effectiveness--for the definite purpose behind them: "Wo aber zu handeln, wo ein bestimmter Zweck zu erreichen war, da kämpft Swift, in den Tuchhändlerbriefen, wie in jedem politischen Pamphlet."³⁶ Yet Swift always acted in the interests of humanity, albeit he often concealed his true sentiments: "Unter der Gestalt eines Züchtigers und Censors ein helfender Patriot, mit der Gebehrde eines Menschenfeindes durch kalte Vernunft, den Reichen und Mächtigen zu Trotz, war er ein thätiger Freund der Menschheit."³⁷

The most illuminating part of this final estimate of Swift by Herder is his attempt to understand Swift the man. It becomes a real testimony to the genuine bond of sympathy that linked him to the English satirist and is at the same time a very discerning appraisal of the enigma that was Swift. According to Herder, to understand Swift is to understand the governing passion of his life. This was pride, the noblest type of pride, namely, to serve his country with the talents and understanding he possessed. But on that score he was doomed to frustration. Bit by bit Herder builds up the unhappy pattern of Swift's life: he suffered rebukes from all sides; the High Church which he had served so faithfully was suspicious of him; he had been betrayed by the nobles and those in power; the Whigs hated him; and his friends, to whom he had remained too loyal, forgot him. This injustice gnawed at him, in Herder's words, "wie eine Schlange am Herzen."³⁸

It was easy for Herder to write this because at the time he himself was experiencing the feelings he ascribes to Swift. He had broken with Schiller and Goethe and had unsuccessfully tried to combat Kant. He, too, had had unpleasant experiences with those in high station.³⁹ One can easily picture the old Herder, smoldering under the numerous frustrations of his old age and feeling the same injustices that Swift felt.

Even Swift's few happy experiences, such as his relationship with Stella, were not able to justify humankind in his eyes: "Er kam dahin, wohin wir unserm Feinde nie zu kommen wünschen, dass ihm die menschliche Natur selbst fade und in Lasterhaften abscheulich ward . . . Swift ward vom gewöhnlichen Tross der Menschen gleichsam exhumanisirt."⁴⁰ The human form became repulsive to him and in self defense he turned to his Yahoos. In such a mood, according to Herder, was Gulliver written. He emphatically refutes, as false and shallow, Young's assertion in his Essay on Original Composition that Swift had taken a fiendish pleasure in reducing human nature to its most loathsome form. Swift in his spiritual depression may have been unable to see anything but Yahoos around him, but in Gulliver he set up the Houyhnhnms, the horses, a noble race of animals which, as Herder reminds us, are idealized by the Creator of men in a Biblical passage.⁴¹ To Herder, Swift's horses are "vernünftige, billige Geschöpfe, wie Menschen es seyn sollten, nicht der Zweck, nicht die erhabnen Fähigkeiten und Anlagen des Menschengeschlechts, wohl aber Name und Gestalt des Menschenthiers war ihm, wie dem lebenssatten Hamlet verleidet."⁴²

This last statement of Herder's contains what to me seems a high significant view of Swift. Whereas the eighteenth century critic was repelled at what appeared to him to be patent misanthropy in Gulliver, Herder pointed out the existence of Swift's ideal, his beliefs in the capabilities of Man. This is surely not misanthropy. Herder's comparison of Swift to Hamlet is therefore extremely logical. Both men suffered from a sensitive awareness of the disparity between the world as it should be and the world as one sees it, between the ideal and reality. That which binds both men together, according to Herder, is found in Hamlet's speech of ironic and tragic disillusion. ⁴³

Book IV of Gulliver's Travels, as seen through the eyes of Herder, represents not the fulminations of a bitter misanthrope but rather the outpourings of a disillusioned idealist who was supremely dedicated to the life of reason and who thought man could be also. This is his contribution to the "cult" of man, the ideal of Humanität. Herder correctly saw in Swift this interest in the problem of Man, because it was the governing interest in his life also. Critics of Swift would do well to note that in the eighteenth century one of his German admirers, by comparing Swift to Hamlet, by discerning his real role as a friend and not as an enemy of man, quite uniquely anticipated a view of that tragic figure which in recent years has become more and more widely accepted.

NOTES

1. Rudolf Haym, Herder, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1954), I, 441.
2. See: Vera Philoppovic, Swift in Deutschland (Agram, 1903); Luise Schork, Herders Bekanntschaft mit der englischen Literatur (Breslau, 1928); Robert T. Clark, Jr., Herder, His Life and Thought (Berkeley, 1955).
3. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Dichtung und Wahrheit, Zwölftes Buch (Werke, Bd. XXVIII), Weimar-Ausgabe, lll.
4. Philoppovic, p. 4.
5. Johann Gottfried Herder, Sämmtliche Werke, eds. Suphan, Redlich, Steig, et al. (Berlin, 1877-1913), I, 35. This is the standard edition of Herder's works and will be cited subsequently as Werke with the appropriate volume and page number.
6. See: Schork, Index, pp. 79-81, for a listing of references.
7. This information is based on the "Bibliotheca Herderiana Wimariae 1804," a listing of books in Herder's library, made prior to its sale on April 24, 1905. The Swift works are classified thus:
BH 6854-61, Swifts Satyr. und ernsthafte Schriften, 1-8 Bde.
The Waser edition (Hamburg, 1756).
BH 6665-89, The Works of Jonathan Swift, John Hawkesworth (London, 1788).

BH 6797, A Tale of a Tub, 1711.

BH 6893, Anti Longin (Leipzig, 1734). This was a translation of Swift's The Art of Sinking in Poetry, which was made by the Gottsched circle.

BH 6894, Swifts Unterricht für unerfahrene Bediente (Frankfurt, 1748).

8. Thomas Sheridan, "The Life of Doctor Swift," in The Works of . . . J. Swift. . . arranged. . . with notes by T. Sheridan, 17 vols. (London, 1784), I.

9. Samuel Johnson, "Swift," in his Lives of the English Poets (London, 1781).

10. John Boyle Orrery, Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift (London, 1752).

11. Dichtung und Wahrheit, Werke Bd. XXVII, 307.

12. Roy Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang (New York, 1953), p. 17. See also: J. H. Merck, Schriften und Briefwechsel, ed. Wolff, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1909-11), II, 92.

13. Quoted from Pascal, p. 18.

14. Schork, p. 29.

15. Merck, Schriften, II, 29.

16. February 25, 1773. To be found in Weimare Jahrbücher, III (1855), 47.

17. Hermann Hettner, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert (Braunschweig, 1894), III, 88.

18. Haym, I, 498-501; II, 26-30.

19. Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen (1753), I, 295-96 and (1770), I, 438-39.

20. Werke, XVIII, 109.

21. See: Ricardo Quintana, The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift (New York, 1936), p. 306.

22. Werke, IX, 229; VIII, 196; IX, 306.

23. Werke, IX, 399.

24. Werke, XVIII, 109.

25. Werke, VIII, 420.

26. Werke, XXII, 162.

27. Werke, I, 163.

28. Werke, XVIII, 387.

29. Ibid., 98.

30. Ibid.

31. Werke, XXIII, 188.

32. Ibid., 292-293.

33. Werke, XXIV, 425-435.

34. Werke, XXIII, 180-189.

35. Ibid., 181.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., 182.

38. Ibid., 186.

39. Not the least of which was Karl August's forgetfulness regarding a prom-

ise he had made to Herder in 1789 to underwrite the costs of educating
Herder's children.

40. Werke, XXIII, 187.
41. Job 39, 19-25.
42. Werke, XXIII, 187.
43. Shakespeare, Hamlet, II, 2.

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ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Alfred Adler. Sens et Composition du Jeu de la Feuillée. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1956. Pp. 46.

A complete analysis of the dramatic poem Jeu de la Feuillée by Adam de la Halle. Professor Adler makes use of all the available studies of this poem and adds his own explication de texte.

Ferdinand Alquié. Descartes, l'homme et l'oeuvre. Paris: Hatier-Boivin, 1956. Pp. 175.

The author explains Descartes by the order in which his ideas appeared. As the man grew so did his ideas, and to neglect any of them would be to mutilate Descartes. This is, then, a history of his spiritual development.

Barna M. Avré. A la Recherche du théâtre français. Hollywood: Nabor, 1956. Pp. 38.

This study attempts to analyze the different concepts of contemporary French drama as expressed in the works of Jean Giraudoux, Jean Anouilh, Henry de Montherlant, Paul Claudel, Jean Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, and Albert Camus.

J. B. Barrère. Le Regard d'Orphée. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1956. Pp. 37.

This study of French poetry includes some of the prose writers, since poetry here is treated in the larger sense of artistic writing. It is the "regard d'Orphée" which falls on the chosen few.

Benjamin F. Bart. Flaubert's Landscape Descriptions. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1956. Pp. 70.

Landscape descriptions in Flaubert's novels are so sparingly used that the reader is hardly conscious of them. Their function is psychological rather than decorative. In his Voyage en Orient he used the landscape as a painter might and was as careful about his composition as one might expect from such a perfectionist as Flaubert.

Charles Baudelaire. Petits Poèmes en Prose (Le Spleen de Paris). Edited by Henri Lemaître. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 1958. Pp. 265.

A carefully edited new edition of Baudelaire's livre maudit. There are 51 pages of introduction, useful notes, variants, and a selected bibliography.

Margaret V. Campbell. The Development of the National Theatre in Chile to 1842. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958. Pp. 77.

Professor Campbell studies the rather barren period in the history of

Chilean theater production up to 1842, when it can be said that the first real Chilean plays were produced. There is a study of Andrés Bello, who was born in Caracas in 1780 and who was especially active in Santiago from 1829 to 1842.

Léon Cellier. Gérard de Nerval, l'homme et l'oeuvre. Paris: Hatier-Boivin, 1956. Pp. 255.

The author of this short work on Nerval has not added anything new to what was known about Nerval. He has presented the material in a lucid and interesting fashion.

A. R. Chisholm. Mallarmé's L'Après-Midi d'un faune. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1959. Pp. 35.

A critical edition of Mallarmé's famous poem. It is divided into five chapters; "Time and Topography," "Themes," "Interpretation," "Intention," and "Critical Epilogue."

Felipe Cossío del Pomar. Crítica de arte: De Baudelaire a Malraux. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956. Pp. 435.

A presentation of both North and South American art. There are many quotations from writers and artists which make it attractive.

Ernesto Guerra da Cal. Lengua y estilo de Eça de Queiroz. Coimbra: Universidad de Coimbra, 1954. Pp. 391.

A comprehensive and readable analysis of Portugal's great modern novelist. It is a searching analysis of the originality of Eça's prose style. There is a selected bibliography of critical works about the Portuguese author.

J. Christopher Herold. Mistress to an Age. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1958. Pp. 500.

This is not a definitive biography of Madame de Staël, but it is a well-developed one which is presented in an interesting and readable style. There is an important bibliographical essay which should be of value to all those studying the author of Corinne.

Victor Hugo. Choix de Poèmes. Edited by Jean Gaudon. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957. Pp. 202.

This is a collection of well annotated poems of Hugo. There are thirty-one poems, some well-known, others almost forgotten. Of special interest is a short note about each poem which tells of the circumstances of its writing.

Raymond R. MacCurdy. Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla and the Tragedy. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1958. Pp. 161.

Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, the Spanish dramatist, was born in Toledo in 1607 and died in 1648. He has been neglected by most scholars, and Professor MacCurdy thinks that he deserves more consideration in seventeenth century

Spanish literature. Some of the tragedies of Rojas are excellent, and others mediocre, but all of them are studied in this work.

José F. Montesinos. Valera o la ficción libre. Madrid: Gredos, 1957. Pp. 236.

All the novels of Valera are studied in their relation to one another and to his stories. The author shows an extraordinary feeling for the subtle processes of Valera's agile mind.

Pierre Moreau. Chateaubriand, l'homme et l'oeuvre. Paris: Hatier-Boivin, 1956. Pp. 208.

This is a clear analysis of the ideas of Chateaubriand and their relation to his life. Professor Moreau considers that Chateaubriand was a good influence in the nineteenth century and that he struggled against naturalism and prepared the way for symbolism. He thinks that Francis Jammes and Proust are both children of the author of Atala.

Gérard de Nerval. Oeuvres. Edited by Henri Lemaître. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 1958. Vol. I, pp. 982; Vol. II, pp. 904.

This two volume set does not give the complete works of Gérard de Nerval but the essential of his work. It is introduced by a long discussion (69 pages) of Nerval as a writer. There is a complete bibliography of the writings of Nerval, and there are ample notes for the texts, with variants.

René Pomeau. Beaumarchais, l'homme et l'oeuvre. Paris: Hatier-Boivin, 1956. Pp. 207.

The life of Beaumarchais is like a novel, something like the adventures of Gil Blas. It is remarkable that he was able to produce good literature in spite of the fact that he never considered himself a writer. This biography reveals some new aspects of his life and their relation to his literary production.

Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. Paul et Virginie. Edited by Pierre Trahard. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 1958. Pp. 321.

This is the best edition of Paul et Virginie in that the original manuscript and the corrections of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre have been carefully studied and reproduced. There is an introduction of 173 pages which explains just how the edition was evolved from originals.

Eduardo Santa. La provincia perdida. Bogotá: Empresa Nacional de Publicaciones, 1957. Pp. 168.

This well illustrated new edition of Santa's collection of short essays was first published in 1951. He has added several new essays, making a total of thirty-eight, which record for posterity the old customs of Colombia.

Raúl Silva Castro. Rubén Darío a los veinte años. Madrid: Gredos, 1956. Pp. 296.

This is a study of Rubén Darío's formative years in Chile from 1886-1889. Much of this work is based on material which the author unearthed in 1934 in Chilean newspapers.

Altair Tejeda de Tamez. El perro acomplejado. Mexico: Ediciones de Andrea, Los Presentes, 64, 1958. Pp. 125.

A collection of fourteen rather amusing stories without much depth. The best is an account of a visit to Monterrey by three girls. The title story concerns a dog named "Butter" that changed his name to "Margarine."

Stephen Ullmann. Style in the French Novel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957. Pp. 273.

Through a half dozen essays, Professor Ullmann gives an account of the stylistic evolution of the French novel. He studies three distinct phases of evolution of the novel in the nineteenth century--from Hugo to Proust.

Luis Felipe Vivanco. Introducción a la poesía española contemporánea. Madrid: Guadarrama. Pp. 667.

There are fourteen essays which study the works of Jiménez, Guillén, Salinas, Felipe, Diego, Alberti, Alonso, Cernuda, Aleixandre, Lorca, Rosales, Hernández, J. Panero, and L. Panero. For Vivanco poetry is real and is a dialogue about man in this temporal existence.

Hobart Ryland

BOOKS RECEIVED

Margaret V. Campbell. The Development of the National Theatre in Chile to 1842. Gainesville: The University of Florida Press, 1958. Pp. v, 77.

Elias Bredsdorff. Danish: An Elementary Grammar and Reader. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959. Pp. xi, 301. \$3.75.

Jacob Smit and Reinder R. Meijer. Dutch Grammar and Reader. Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959. Pp. 207. \$3.75.

Jee San Woo. The Seven English Speech Tones, Analyzed and Identified with Musical Tones and Chinese Speech Tones. New York: The William-Frederick Press, 1959. Pp. ii, 29. \$1.50.

